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ABSTRACT

Papers are presented from the New Jersey Department of Higher Education's annual Bilingual Higher Education Summer Institute. Focus is on sociolinguistic, anthropological, social psychological, pedagogical, and socio-political-economic considerations. Each analyzes particular factors that influence the form and quality of bilingual policy and instruction programs, and offers specific research recommendations. The papers include: "Foundations of Bilingual Education" (E. Glyn Lewis), and reaction (Ana M. Villegas); "The Significance of the Ethnic Community Mother Tongue School: Introduction to a Study" (Joshua A. Fishman); "The State Perspective: Bilingual Higher Education in New Jersey--Present Policy and Future Directions" (T. Edward Hollander); "Bilingual Higher Education in New Jersey: The State of the Art" (Estela Bensimon); "Higher Education in New Jersey: An Analysis of Social Realities" (Gustavo A. Mellander); "A Critical Analysis of the State of Bilingual Postsecondary Education" (Rolf Kjolseth); "The Politics of Bilingual Higher Education" (William Milan); "The Dynamics of Identity Conflict of Hispanics in the Process of Acculturation in an Assimilative Context" (Rosa Maria Cotayo); "The Cultural Components of Bilingual Teacher Education Programs: Theories and Practices" (Muriel Saville-Troike); and "Planning and Implementing Bilingual Postsecondary Programs" (Adele MacGowan). (LC)

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BILINGUAL HIGHER EDUCATION SUMMER INSTITUTE

"Bilingual Higher Education: Foundations, Policy, and Practice"

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Seton Hall University
August 24-29, 1979

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The papers included herein represent the views of the individual writers, and are not necessarily reflective of the New Jersey Department of Higher Education's position on issues related to bilingual education.

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T. Edward Hollander
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Foreword 5
Introduction 6

Institute Proceedings

Foundations of Bilingual Education
- E. Glyn Lewis 7

A Reaction to E. Glyn Lewis' Paper:
"Foundations of Bilingual Education"
- Armando Cotayo 31

Theoretical Perspectives on Bilingual
Education Programs
- Christina Bratt Paulston 45

A Reaction to C.B. Paulston's Paper:
"Theoretical Perspectives on
Bilingual Education"
- Ana M. Villegas 106

The Significance of the Ethnic
Community Mother Tongue School:
Introduction to a Study
- Joshua A. Fishman 114

The State Perspective: Bilingual
Higher Education in New Jersey -
Present Policy and Future
Directions
- T. Edward Hollander 123

Bilingual Higher Education in
New Jersey: The State of
the Art
- Estela Bensimon 128

Higher Education in New Jersey:
An Analysis of Social Realities
- Gustavo A. Mellander 133

A Critical Analysis of the State of
Bilingual Postsecondary
Education
- Rolf Kjolseth 142

The Politics of Bilingual Higher Education
- William Milan 152

The Dynamics of Identity Conflict of Hispanics in the Process of Acculturation in an Assimilative Context
- Rosa Maria Cotayo 165

The Cultural Component of Bilingual Teacher Education Programs: Theories and Practices
- Muriel Saville-Troike 174

Planning and Implementing Bilingual Postsecondary Programs
- Adele MacGowan 190

INTRODUCTION

The enactment of Title VII of E.S.E.A. in 1968 generated substantial efforts devoted to the preparation of personnel to instruct children of limited English proficiency through bilingual education programs. In addition, colleges and universities throughout the United States have initiated programs using a bilingual instructional approach to provide greater access to higher education to students whose native language is other than English. These two types of programs - bilingual teacher preparation and bilingual postsecondary education - constitute bilingual higher education in New Jersey.

Since bilingual higher education in New Jersey, as well as in the United States, is at an early stage of development, there is a need to analyze the various dimensions underlying policy formulation and program implementation. Accordingly, in August, 1979 the New Jersey Department of Higher Education sponsored its annual Bilingual Higher Education Summer Institute at Seton Hall University.

The purpose of the Institute was to provide a forum for professional exploration and discussion of social science issues affecting bilingual higher education. Consistent with this purpose, the Institute focused on socio-linguistic, anthropological, social psychological, pedagogical, and socio-political-economic considerations related to the implementation of such programs.

This Report of the Institute Proceedings contains the papers presented by thirteen of the invited speakers. Each paper includes an analysis of particular factors which influence the form and quality of bilingual higher education policy and instructional programs. In addition, the authors offer specific recommendations regarding the direction research should take and/or the practices that seem to be most effective in bilingual higher education.

While this report of the proceedings comes two years after the event, we hope it will serve as a useful resource document for institutions of higher education which share the goal of serving our bilingual and potentially bilingual student population.

FOREWORD

In the last two decades our country has begun to recognize the needs of ethnolinguistic minority populations, especially in the area of education. Legal mandates such as Lau v. Nichols have reaffirmed the rights of these groups to obtain equal educational opportunities. While much has been accomplished to educate children of limited English proficiency, we need to direct greater efforts to making higher education more accessible to ethnolinguistic minority groups.

During the last two years, the New Jersey Department of Higher Education has undertaken a series of endeavors in bilingual higher education to define our goals and mission in this area. The proceedings of the Bilingual Higher Education Summer Institute reflect our concern with the issues which affect the implementation of bilingual higher education programs in New Jersey. It represents an attempt to clarify these issues in order to formulate effective policy.

The 1980's will be a challenging time for all of us in education who must address complex problems with limited resources. We hope the Institute Proceedings, although issued two years after the actual institute, will stimulate the development of innovative approaches to meet this challenge. The content of the papers have withstood the test of time, and while new developments have occurred in the field, they have not invalidated the concepts contained within the Institute Proceedings.

T. Edward Hollander
Chancellor

August, 1981

INSTITUTE PROCEEDINGS

Estela Bensimon
Former Coordinator, Bilingual Programs

Rosa Maria Cotayo
Editor, Institute Proceedings

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"FOUNDATIONS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION"

by: Dr. E. Glyn Lewis
Wales, United Kingdom

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Some definitions

Bilingual education is an institution, and like most institutions it embraces a variety of approaches and what the institution is intended to promote is open to a variety of interpretations. This is true of all institutions - the Christian Church has a diversity of forms, the Constitution can be interpreted in more than one way, and a political institution, whether it is a party or the legislature speaks with several voices. Similarly the institution which we call 'bilingual education' is not a simple or uniform datum: according to circumstances it can be interpreted as possessing several equally appropriate forms, and several aims (some of them incompatible with other equally valid aims). The same form of bilingual education may have advantageous consequences in one set of circumstances, and adverse consequences in another. For this reason, while it is convenient to speak of 'bilingual education' in global terms it is necessary to remind ourselves that this is an over simplification, and that, in part, it would be more satisfactory always to speak of 'the education of bilingual children', since this places the emphasis where it belongs - on the individual child rather than the institution.

Nevertheless, although our concern is with a form of bilingual education which is appropriate to an individual, and therefore to some extent different in each case, there are some generalizations which we are permitted to make. The most obvious of these is that a bilingual education implies imparting a knowledge of and an opportunity to use at least two languages. This necessary element in the foundation of bilingual education is self-evident, and though some of the implications of the terms 'knowledge' and 'use' of two languages are debatable we need not elaborate upon them at this stage, since other fundamental elements require prior consideration. For instance, we need to consider what we mean by the term 'foundations' itself in this case: Are they simply the basic requirement of bilingualism per se - namely the ability to use two languages? Or do 'foundations' mean what is required to provide a particular type of bilingual education, in which case 'foundations' would include

not only the pre-requisite of bilingualism, but the purposes to which bilingualism is to be put - the aims and goals which a bilingual education is meant to achieve? Unless we interpret the term in the simplest way to mean the knowledge and use of two languages the foundations of bilingual education consist not only of facts but fantasies, hopes and ideals, and it is difficult to distinguish between them and the facts. In determining a policy for or in shaping a programme of bilingual education, what is rightly or wrongly believed about bilingualism is as important as what is known for certain. Education is not a science though it tries to make use of scientific data. Like politics it is the 'art of the possible' - it achieves what those who determine policy and those who influence the policy makers want and find it possible to achieve. The results of bilingual education programmes cannot be evaluated in abstract and absolute terms like the results of a scientific experiment. The environment of a scientific experiment is controlled in such a way that it does not enter into the calculations of the result: it can be ignored. In any form of education the environment is part and parcel of the process which is being examined or promoted. Education does not mould men in the abstract but in and for a given society. Consequently, the nature of that society, its hopes and fears, its history as well as its current social, economic and demographic characteristics are aspects of the foundations of any bilingual education that the society seeks to promote. The foundations of bilingual education in the United States are different from those of bilingual education in the Soviet Union because the social philosophies as well as other characteristics of the two countries differ.

B. Bilingual Education - A Characteristic of Modernization

1. The developing foundations of Bilingual Education

In addition to the simple fact that bilingual education is founded on the knowledge and use of two languages, there is a second generalization which is true of all forms of bilingual education which is inculcated in the public school system - it is a form of education which is meant to enable individuals and groups to live in a modernizing or an already modernized society. Not all forms of bilingual education have been based on this requirement. The history of this form of education goes back to Babylonian times. And from that time to the Renaissance, few if any countries failed to offer examples of bilingual education - but the programmes were restricted to an elitist group, scribes, priests and the servants of royal households to begin with, and later the servants of rich merchants. There was never any question of a general participation in bilingual education. Bilingual education, as we conceive it, is the consequence of modernization and modernization is the second element of the foundation of contemporary bilingual education everywhere. As modernization develops in a particular country, so the type of bilingual education which is appropriate to that society changes. The nature of the foundations change, becoming more comprehensive as the particular society advances. Just as bilingualism itself, as a linguistic phenomenon, is an aspect of social change, so bilingual education, as in institutional phenomenon,

reflects the nature of the change which is occurring or has already occurred. With changes in the level of modernization go shifts in the importance attached to existing scientific disciplines as well as the development of new disciplines which help to establish the empirical bases of bilingual education. To some extent, therefore, one may attribute changes in the foundations to changes in the importance of the disciplines used to examine the nature of bilingualism. So far as bilingualism is concerned, the first discipline fundamental to the earliest attempt to give a sound foundation to bilingualism was metaphysics or theology or myth, with which was associated the view that bilingualism was a pathological state. Vestiges of such prejudices may be thought by some to be embedded in the theories of Whorf, though he did attempt to validate his hypotheses by empirical investigation using the discipline of linguistics. A great deal of the unwarranted mysticism which is associated with bilingualism and which may colour many of the fantasies connected with bilingual education owes something to the survival of mystical and metaphysical approaches.

As societies advanced, such mythological and metaphysical foundations were discarded in favour of scientific foundations exemplified by the attitudes of the Sophists, brought up in a multilingual world dominated by interacting Greek and Latin as well as Greek and eastern mediterranean languages. These efforts were directed to removing the study of languages from the realm of mythology. Examples of the earliest movements in this direction are found in the work of Quntilian who had pertinent things to say about the interaction or interference of Greek and Latin during the early years of a Roman child's education; while the remarks of St. Augustine on what might be regarded as an early instance of an 'immersion' programme whereby the early education of the child was in his second language, are well known. But it is not until the change from philology to linguistics and the gradual introduction of strictly mathematical concepts in analyzing language contact that the explanation of bilingualism; and therefore, some of the foundations of bilingual education acquired a scientific bias. This stage is characterized by studies of substratum, borrowing, phonological and other forms of 'interference' and language change. Cassirer argues (Cassirer, 1953) that following the refinement of the quantitative approach in epistemology a 'new force begins to emerge. Biological thought takes precedence' and the psychological study of man claims attention. So far as concerns bilingualism, this development is characterized by an interest in the general laws which govern learning and particularly the learning of languages, together with an appraisal of the consequences for cognitive development, the maturation of personality and emotional stability of the simultaneous acquisition of more than one language. This phase builds on the earlier quantitative mathematical phase and the instruments which were developed during that first phase such as intelligence test, scales of linguistic background, word counts, etc. These developments determined the direction of research which are the foundations on which bilingual education is built. As these approaches fulfilled their promise, so new approaches were designed using other disciplines; and we have witnessed during the last three decades a shift of disciplines in the study of bilingual education from quantitative psychology to social qualitative psychology, to anthropology, sociology and political science. Each discipline contributes a new element to the foundations of bilingual education and to the explanation of its consequences.

However, it would be erroneous to claim that changes in the foundations occur because new disciplines become available: in fact, the disciplinary shift itself is a reflection of something more fundamental, namely a change in the structure and nature of society. The societal changes to which we refer can be regarded as aspects of the modernization of society, and we shall discuss changes in the foundations within the framework of modernization theory. This is inevitable since the issues of bilingual education, as we know it, arise only when a society is in process of change from a traditional to a post-traditional state. Bilingualism itself as a linguistic phenomenon may be widespread and may have been so for several millenia; but it is only when a society is on the move socially, politically, economically and demographically that bilingualism needs to be institutionalized within the system of government, and therefore within educational institutions.

2. Aspects of Modernization

The process of modernization has been described and analysed from several standpoints. Pye and Rostow emphasize modernization as the establishment of national identity; for Silvert, it is the rationalization and secularization of authority; Deutsch regards modernization as a process of mobilization as well as the differentiation of social roles with a high degree of specialization in the functions of institutions and individuals. For Almond and Verba, modernization means the development of mass participation and the emergence of political awareness among those masses. This is also the view of Eisenstadt. For Rokkan and Bendix, modernization is synonymous with the formation of a centre and a governing elite. All these scholars identify different aspects of the same process, but they do not all appear simultaneously or from the beginning of the process. Lerner has adopted a four stage model in considering modernization in the Middle East and Turkey. First, urbanization, then in turn, the development of literacy, the spread of mass media and finally, increased political participation. This is a highly simplified model, but it serves to provide a frame within which we can analyze some of the problems thrown up at particular points of the process in most countries.

Identifying and distinguishing the successive stage is important from the standpoint of bilingual education because each stage makes different demands on the development of language policy and necessitates a reconsideration of the foundation of such a policy. As society moves from one state to the next, there is a fundamental paradigmatic shift.

(a). Revolution of Sensibility

The first stage of modernization in Britain, following the centralization of territorial and political control, was the revolution sensibility which accompanied technological and scientific change. Because of the close relationship between the internal colonization of Celtic lands and the external colonization of the United States, mainly by the same groups, and partly because the first stage of American immigration drew upon populations which were

sent from countries only slightly behind Britain in the advance towards modernization, namely Holland, and Germany especially, the first stage of modernization within the United States replicated that of Britain. The revolution in sensibility was due in large part to the vast extension of knowledge as well as a change in attitude to the kind of knowledge that was considered relevant. It was knowledge which reflected and was produced by revolutionary technologies, and by scientific advances which were to a considerable degree discontinuous with everyday or normal experience. This new knowledge was abstract in nature and expression, best exemplified by mathematics and physics.

The massive accumulation of knowledge which was discontinous from everyday experience, together with its dependence on tne ability to handle new techniques, made the traditional educational institutions, the home and the church, outmoded. Education became a specialized activity which had to be formalized in a new institution-the public school. So far as the heterogenous areas of Britain were concerned, the territorial control exercised from an external centre by an alien elite meant that education was synonymous with the use of English, a foreign language to the Celtic minorities. The same was true of the Russian Empire and continues to be the case in the Soviet Empire where the lingua franca, Russian, is foreign to many nationalities. Nevertheless, other considerations necessitated the use of the mother tongue, thus justifying the creation of at least an incipient system of bilingual education. Experience reinforced the early realization that the lingua franca, English or Russian, could not guarantee mass literacy. The fundamental democratization of social consciousness also gave a new prestige to the vernacular independently of its usefulness in initiating literacy. Simultaneously, the Protestant Reformation emphasized the need for such literacy. All these considerations came to be regarded as the foundation of bilingual education during that first stage. However, the vernacular, though necessary, entered into the scheme of things simply in order to facilitate later the better understanding and use of the lingua franca.

This transitional type of bilingual education was reinforced by the kind of sensibility which modernization produced. Rationality, rather than sentimental attachment to or continuity with tradition, together with efficiency and utility, were the main criteria of relevance. The aims of accumulating knowledge, contrary to the philosophy of the past, came to be the promotion of change. Francis Bacon maintained that 'to generate change and superinduce a new nature or natures on a given body is the labour and aim of human powers'. Associated with the rationalistic and utilitarian approach to language usage, two other aspects of the modernizing spirit assumed significance - scientific scepticism and the demystification of sanctified institutions, of which the native language, like religion itself, was among the most prominent. With the new spirit went a distrust of the intangible. Legitimacy was transferred from traditional and humanistic values to these new scientific guidelines. All these promoted the lingua franca as the foundation of the education of minorities since the lingua franca represented the new spirit which the peripheral languages and vernaculars failed to do.

(b) Industrialization

The most salient aspect of the next stage of modernization is industrialization accompanied by urban growth. These two aspects pointed to the need for literacy and since this was most easily achieved initially in the vernacular, industrialization gave a new status to the latter. The achievement of literacy is one of the fundamental promises of bilingual education and in a heterogenous society this literacy involves both the lingua franca and the native language. Formal popular education is the result of industrialization and is an attempt to satisfy, in the first instance the need for a minimally literate and numerate work force, so that industrial progress is facilitated and public order maintained during rapid urbanization. In Wales, which became a major centre of the world wide industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries, the need to use the non-English vernacular, namely Welsh, was recognized quite early as a means of promoting the modernization of Britain. It was observed that "a country which did not permit the use of the vernacular is liable to suffer from evil conditions ... whereby the majority of our countrymen are ignorant of the very language of the laws they are meant to obey ... Punishment and rewards are alike esoteric and consequently alike uninfluential upon those who most require their help" (Tremenheere, 1839). To be literate to the point where they could be a usable and docile force, able to understand the laws which governed their social mobilization, the masses had to be taught their mother tongue as well as English. At this stage of modernization, therefore, bilingual education was synonymous with the acquisition of English as a second language, in addition to the mother tongue. The problem was to arrange the curriculum in such a way as to give precedence to English without losing the advantages which accured from acknowledging the mother tongue. This is the main thrust in the Soviet Union at the present time, as it was a century ago in Britain and still is, to some extent, in the United States with its TESOL programmes. The fundamental paradigm of bilingual education at this stage of social development was linguistic.

Industrialization created more problems than could be satisfied by the growth of literacy in either language or both. It meant the dislocation of populations from their safe environments and the creation of rootless proletariats. Disturbances occurred in the new steel and mining townships of South Wales and these pointed to the importance of education in socializing and assimilating masses belonging to different language groups, which, because of the effect of external influence on administration and industry, were also members of different social classes. One of the pioneers of public education, Kay Shuttleworth, in a memorandum to the Privy Council maintained that a 'small band of teachers would be more effective in containing the disruptions than a regiment of soldiery' (Minutes of the Privy Council - Committee for Education). The Prime Minister, Disraeli, saw the issue as the creation of 'one nation' where there were at that time 'two ... between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy, who are ignorant of each others' feelings, thoughts and habits as if they were dwellers in different zones or inhabitants of different planets, formed by different breeding ... ordered by different manners and governed by different laws (Disraeli: Sybil, 1846). He was referring to divisions between the rich and poor in

Britain generally, but, to a considerable extent, this division coincided with differences between the ethnic groups-Welsh and English. At this stage of modernization, the foundation of bilingual education was both linguistic (as in the previous phase) and cultural. In Britain, where the curriculum of the schools was determined by the School Codes formulated centrally by the Board of Education, cultural assimilation was promoted by the obligatory study of selected English literary texts, uniform for the whole country and for all ethnic groups.

(c) Role Differentiation and Specialization

Another aspect of modernization, reflected in the next phase and made necessary by the growth of technology and industrialization, is the differentiation of the roles of institutions and individuals in the complex society. In traditional societies, a single institution like the family or the church has to carry many social responsibilities. With modernization and increased social complexity, such undifferentiated role appropriation could not be maintained and social roles were separated and designated as the responsibility of specialist agencies, increasingly under the control of a central government. Differentiation and specialization of roles become the marks of this fourth stage of modernization and of the corresponding phase of bilingual education. In Britain a paradigmatic shift occurred from emphasis on the three R's (reading, Writing and Arithmetic), which were based on entirely objective criteria, to the three A's (Age, Ability and Aptitude), which signify a shift towards a recognition of individual differences requiring individually differentiated education. It was a shift with which the name of John Dewey was associated. The paradigm fundamental to this stage of bilingual education was no longer linguistic or cultural but psychological. Bilingual education was judged by its success or failure in neutralizing the alleged psychological handicaps of bilingualism or in ensuring that the possession of two languages promoted a richer and more rounded person.

The phases we have described have been preparatory to the stage at which most modernized countries, such as Britain, the USSR and the United States have now arrived - namely, that of mass participation in the social and political scheme of things. The achievement of this goal depends on the satisfaction of the earlier goals, literacy, some degree of national consensus about social values (involving assimilation), an acceptance of the personal integrity of any individual, as well as the awareness of social and cultural issues which is commensurate with a high level of individual confidence based on that sense of personal integrity. Such an awareness of cultural issues is identified with an intensification of one's ethnic affiliations and origins. So that bilingual education is judged by its success or failure in promoting participation in the activities of the ethnic group and contributing to, as well as maintaining, its cultural heritage. The paradigm has shifted from the psychological to the ethnic. The rationale is no longer simply linguistic, or simply cultural, or simply psychological but all these as preconditions of the emergence of a new rationale associated with the concept of cultural pluralism.

C. Bilingual Education and Ethnicity

1. Introduction

When we have regard to the international literature on bilingual education, the ethnic rationales which are formulated as foundations for bilingual education are varied and contradictory, but, generally speaking, they resolve themselves into the following propositions. First, bilingual education helps to establish or re-establish ethnic identity, sometimes referred to as developing among minority groups an appropriate self-image. During the controversies regarding the choice of language, Haugen points to the desire of the folk elite in Norway for a bulwark against 'indiscriminating acceptance of mass culture'. The cultivation of New Norwegian grows from the need "to preserve among us anything that ... has native distinctiveness" (Haugen, 1966, 286). This is in line with the argument in a far different country and in relationship to bilingual education specifically. In Malaya various reports published between 1956 and the beginning of this decade stress the importance of such an education as a 'major component in the building of Malaysian national consciousness'. Those who have observed the process in Malaya find it 'abundantly clear that ethnicity is at the heart of the meaning of education' in that country (Nash, 1967, 6-7).

In other cases the propositions in respect of bilingual education concern individuals rather than the group itself, stressing the need to regard the system of education as a means of enabling the student to adjust to his complex social and cultural environment. Coser, following George Simmel, maintains that the conflict, which is inevitable in situations where languages and cultures interact 'is a form of socialization' (Coser, 1964, 28), that the conflict of values often revealed in such situations helps in the establishment of group identity and to maintain the satisfactory functioning of groups. 'Only where there is conflict is behaviour conscious, and only there are the conditions for rational conduct present' (Coser, 1964, 20). Consciousness of ethnic identity enables one to adjust rationally to complex and often potentially divisive situations. Such a view of 'ethnic identification' is not shared by other commentators. For instance, the 1969 Cannes conference on related topics (Taijfel, 1970) seemed to suggest that the orientation of education to the establishment of group identity tends to facilitate ethnocentrism.

Other aspects of the ethno-cultural rationales have to do with the inherent value of the traditions which are candidates for maintenance, and which are often assumed to be synonymous with the concept of the "ethnic group". Religion and language are identified more frequently than most other aspects as elements of a tradition. However, it is not so much the content of traditions which are of general interest but their functions. Content can vary from group to group while the functions of traditions remain the same. During modernization, an era of radical discontinuities in almost all aspects of social life, when such discontinuities are not simply experienced but sought with increasing persistance, continuity has acquired a meaning which more and more individuals are coming to

appreciate, especially if those individuals are involved in such discontinuities as profoundly as are members of ethnic groups moving out of a traditional way of life. Tradition and the maintenance of tradition can, in such circumstances, be inherently valuable. Furthermore, as Weber insisted, tradition is an important source of authority and this too, in a rapidly changing world, appears to those involved in such change to be eminently desirable. Not only is tradition a form of authority but the nature of the tradition, the content or the pattern of the culture which is communicated to succeeding generations, is the criterion of legitimacy. Tradition is the authority for behaving the certain ways and the legitimate behaviors are those which tradition offers. Finally, tradition is an available consensus. Agreement among people is necessary for the minimum of comfort and convenience, and, while agreement is normally open to be modified, it is always useful to have a consensus from which to inaugurate whatever modifications may be necessary. Of course, all these functions are performed by tradition in monolingual societies with fairly uniform cultures. But they are far more important in such complex societies where languages and cultures interact and conflict, and where, because of the changes brought about by such interactions, some means of guiding and possible controlling the rate of change may be necessary. Bilingual education, in so far as it draws attention to tradition, offers this advantage.

2. Weak arguments for relating ethnic culture and language

It appears that ethnic and cultural arguments for the development of bilingual education are based on one of the following propositions: first, however we define it, biculturalism offers some advantages in the system of education and a knowledge of the two associated languages, in certain circumstances, may be a means of acquiring those advantages. This is the 'weak' argument for bilingual/bicultural education.

According to the first, weak, proposition biculturalism may benefit from, but need not entail, bilingualism, while according to the second, there is a reciprocal entailment. The first argument is supported by three secondary propositions. First, culture is not a uniform phenomenon: there are several levels of culture, and language is not equally involved in a knowledge or appreciation of all of them. A culture consists, first, of a range of artifacts which are marked by the style of a particular ethnic group. These artifacts may lie anywhere within a range of objects from tools, weapons, and household utensils such as pots and pans, to those things which are part of religious ceremonial, and even the buildings in which the ceremonies are performed. The cultural component of a bicultural education may be confined to this level and although a knowledge of the language may be an advantage, some would maintain that it is not a necessary basis for an appreciation of them. Second, different groups are identified by behavioural characteristics: greeting customs, modes of expressing sorrow or mourning for instance, differ profoundly across cultures. In any programme of bicultural education, a knowledge of them would be instilled, although it does not appear to some ethnologists that a knowledge of the langauge, especially at school level, is required to ensure adequate acquaintance with them. There are, thirdly, higher levels of symbolic

behaviour which, it is agreed, cannot be handled without some use of the associated language. Clearly, the oral traditions of the group belong to this level of culture. A fourth level is that on which the institutional forms or activities of the group may be placed. These would include kinship systems and especially the religious and organizational aspects of the life of the group. Those who admit only a limited or restricted concept of the relationship of language to culture base part of their argument on such an analysis as the above. The extent to which the bilingual/bicultural education takes account of the culture of a group and the extent to which the learning of a language may be thought necessary to the programme, will depend on the culture level with which it is proposed to acquaint the student. No hard and fast rule can be laid down about the language-culture relationship and, therefore, no hard and fast definition of a bicultural programme can be proposed.

Furthermore, even if the content of the bilingual education includes those aspects of culture which are placed on the third and fourth levels which we have distinguished, the degree of awareness of knowledge of them may vary and, at the most elementary, may not require a knowledge of the language. The corpus of oral traditions may be explained in and may be translated into another language. It is not unusual, even in higher education in the U.S., to adopt this practice. Part of the aim of the bicultural programme may be simply to instill some acquaintance with the cultural differences of the interacting groups and an acquaintance with the language may not be necessary for this purpose. One can maintain that a knowledge of the language is necessary in a bicultural programme if what is intended by the latter is a form of acculturation, and even in such a case, the extent of possible acculturation may be so limited that the involvement of language (in the stages of primary and secondary education) may be limited also. The second, strong argument stipulates a <u>necessary</u> relationship between language and its associated culture. There is no way of exploiting the possible advantages of a bicultural education, it is argued, unless one becomes bilingual and there is no way of becoming bilingual unless one is also bicultural. It is argued that all our experience is so shot through and through with words that it is hardly possible to distinguish between what is derived from words and what is not. The theme was taken up by Sapir for whom language 'does not stand apart from and run parallel to direct experience but completely interpenetrates with it. For the normal person every expereince real or potential is saturated with verbalism'. He suspected that 'there is little in the functional side of conscious behaviour in which language does not play the most important part'.

3. <u>The Strong Argument</u>

Those who adopt this set of propositions concerning the necessary relationship between bilingual and bicultural education have nevertheless to account for the empirical evidence. In the first place, diversities of cultures may co-exist within a single language. There are many and significant differences between British, Anglo-American, Canadian, Australian and other English-speaking cultures, which are nevertheless expressible within a range of mutually intelligible variants of the English language.

Conversely, homogeneity of culture may go with linguistic diversity. For instance, Salisbury (1962, 1) writes of the Siane group of 'New Guinea as a goneries of culturally similar tribes ... The same general culture with local variations continues both east and west with no sharp discontinuities ... But the cultural and interactional homogeneity contrasts with the linguistic diversity'.

There is a second consideration - intensified consciousness of cultural distinctiveness may not be correlated with increased interest in or the use of the associated language. Language is but one of the components of a culture and but one of the ways in which it may be symbolized. The Welsh language has declined at a rate which is arguably inversely correlated with the growth in the comprehensiveness as well as the intensity of interest in things Welsh among Welshmen who would not be able or wish to claim the language. Their undoubted Welshness may be expressed in a belief in the uniqueness of their musical talent, or it may be tied to an almost obsessive interest in Rugby football . Other ethnic groups symbolize their distinctiveness in other ways, the French in types of food and drink, for instance.

Third, a historical culture, though it may be tied for many centuries and apparently indissolubly to a particular language, may become independent of it. The appreciation of the Classical Hellenistic culture no longer requires of necessity a knowledge of Greek and Latin. The Christian/Hebraic culture, even among members of the Catholic Church which for over a millenium associated itself with Latin, is independent of any particular language. Indeed, its proselitization is seen to be feasible only on the basis of such a disassociation. Furthermore, there are <u>non-historical</u> cultures which, though they may begin by being associated with particular languages, have grown to be independent of them. The scientific-technological culture, unlike ethnic or national cultures in any of their forms, has set out deliberately to ensure as much discontinuity as possible between it and them. This scientific and technological culture is generally identified with the Western world 'but is in fact a uniform, cosmopolitan culture that can be found in any part of the world' (Benedict, 164). It is the consequence of new or the re-interpretation of old knowledge. It is international not only in the sense that its content is equally relevant to all societies, but also because its operation is governed by an international network, and because it has created for its own purposes institutions which, though highly centralized, have an international mandate. The culture is equidistant from all national cultures and is equally independent of the language associated with those cultures. The fact that English, French, Russian or German are the languages associated with the dissemination of the culture does not derive from the relationship of language to culture, but in each case is a consequence of the international spread of those languages.

D. The Political Foundations

For the reasons I have analyzed, it is doubtful whether the maintenance of an ethnic culture can be regarded as a necessary foundation of bilingualism. Consequently, the argument from ethnicity has moved on to a new plane, not so much cultural pluralism, but political pluralism.

1. Introduction

Political considerations are not fundamental to all forms of bilingual education. For instance, bilingual education provided by religious organizations is not motivated by political considerations unless, as in the case of the education of Jews in the Soviet Union, it infringes upon the claims of the political system, the Party or the State. In so far as we are concerned with popular or mass systems of education provided almost exclusively by the State in some form or another, we have to take account of political rationales. This is certainly the case in Israel. In so far as the Hebrew language is considered to be a necessary characteristic of the State of Israel, the bilingual characteristics of its immigrant students is a major consideration in the provision of education. The closest association of language with political considerations occurs in the Soviet Union where bilingual education, and more particularly the study of Russian among the 'nationalities', is regarded as important not to political well being only, but to the well being of the Party: 'the study of the Russian language is important not only for pedagogical reasons but also because it is inseparable from the political work of the Party' (Okutucilar Gazetasi. Tashkent, 1967). It is not surprising, therefore, that the highest percentage of bilinguals (Lettish/Russian) in Latvia is to be found among members of the Communist Party (95%) and the Communist League of Youth (90%), while among the politically unaffiliated the proportion is 63% (Kholmogorov, 1970, 315). Bilingual education in the Soviet Union is only one aspect of the political 'Problem of the Nationalities' and the interest in bilingualism is derived from its relevance to the solution of that particular political issue.

The existence of a 'political rationale' for any form of education, including bilingual education, does not entail the politicization of pedagogy. Thus, while no one would deny the existence of political motives in promoting bilingual education among Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, the outcome has to be seen as better instruction in English and better opportunities to learn science, other language and mathematics, because of either greater competence in English or of the use of the mother tongue. Nevertheless, bilingual education, like mainstream education, is conceived by its proponents, as well as its adversaries, as being about the redistribution of power. "A theory of instruction is a political theory in the proper sense that it derives from the consensus concerning the distribution of power within the society - who shall be educated and to fulfill what roles". (Bruner: Culture, Politics and Pedagogy, 1968, 69). Haugen reports that by adopting a particular language policy, support for Landsmol, 'the Venstre party struck a blow for national sovereignty by giving freer reign to Norwegian elements in the language' (Haugen, 1966, 38). Later the Labor party in Norway argued that 'the language movement is an important step in the rise of the common people' (Haugen, 1966, 103).

2. Social Stratification and Bilingual Education

The acquisition of one language, whatever other language might be learned, has to be seen as associated with the stratification of society and the wish to eliminate it altogether or to rearrange the strata. The desire, of those in Paraguay who speak the language, to advance the usage of Guarani is partly a consequence of their demand that speakers of the upper classes who normally use Spanish should shed some of their prestige and influence. Social stratification associated with bilingualism was equally evidenced in 19th Century Poland: the upper class preferred Polish, while the peasants preferred Russian dialects (Chadwickm 1945, 25). In the United States, the demand for bilingual education is associated with the enjoyment of a whole set of Civil Rights guaranteed by the State and monitored by the whole panoply of the legal system. (A Better Chance to learn, U.S. Commissionon Civil Rights, 1975). But, in turn, the demand for the implementation of these guarantees (and the corrolary of bilingual education) is but one aspect of the emergence of hitherto depressed groups (ethnic or otherwise) who see in education, properly adjusted to their characteristic way of life, a means of accelerating their emergence. Malherbe recounts the riposte of a Zulu chief to whom the advantages of the vernacular were being elaborated: "Yes, that may be so; but if I know only my own language, I am no better than a chicken scratching around for its food in a narrow pen. If, however, I know the white man's language, I can soar like an eagle". (Malherbe, Learning English in a Bilingual Country, 1961, 21). Conversely, it may be the fear of their soaring like eagles that accounts for the debilitation of the educational opportunities offered by the State to such people - an education which, to be satisfactory, would be necessarily bilingual. It is equally true, both in the United States and the Soviet Union where the reluctance of the dominant ethnic groups to learn 'nationality languages' is equally pronounced, that their lack of involvement in bilingual education is often due to the fear of granting prestige to such languages and, by implication, to those who speak them. Meeting the demands of the 'nationalities' for a 'truly bilingual education' will not affect the prestige of the dominant group so long as the latter remain entirely and uncompromisingly committed to the Russian or the English language. The political rationale for bilingual education is unlikely to be realized until the system of education is reciprocally, not simply untilaterally bilingual: the dominant language will remain a status symbol, as it was in Norman English, and remains the case in Wales and Ireland, to say nothing of such large confederations as the USSR and the USA.

In the last resort, bilingual education is conceived as helping to redistribute power - political and economic. Those who live in the Irish Gaeltacht and who learn English do so because it possesses an economic advantage. In the United States, advocates and opponents of bilingual education often train their arguments on the consideration of job opportunities - the desire for or the fear of losing jobs. In Canada, Lieberson emphasizes there is 'definite evidence of a structural pressure towards bilingualism generated by occupational demands' (Lieberson, 1970, 127). These linguistic pressures vary between occupational categories as well as across languages. Similarly, in the USSR 'the positive role of bilingualism is indicated by the close correlation between a more fluent knowledge of Russian and a high level of education and socio-occupational vertical mobility'. (Gubolgo, 1972, 95).

Mobility both geographic and socio-occupational are fundamental rationales of a bilingual education. Parents elect for Russian medium schools in the Ukraine or in other non-Russian speaking areas because fluency in that language is necessary to the pursuit of higher education in Universities outside their Republic. The custom of living on isolated farms in the Soviet Union inhibits the spread of bilingualism; but more important than that, a rural upbringing creates the desire to become bilingual as means of escape (Kholmogorov, 1970, 316). In Wales, too, the same argument has been advanced as a major justification of bilingual education. Accepting the fundamental value of the Welsh language, leading educationists of the late 18th and early 19th centuries argued that English was a liberating force because the Welsh 'have been too long committed to their language excessively' (Rowlands, 1786). The knowledge of English 'would liberate the now poor and depressed monoglot Welshman from his mountain prison' (William Williams, M.P., 1887). The argument was almost totally economic in its orientation. In securing English, the Welsh would have the opportunity to avoid 'the dirty and arduous labours which they are forced to undertake when the prestigious and less exacting work is available only to Englishmen and Scotsmen' (Rees, 1858). Almost the same year, a leading religious leader warned his compatriots to 'prepare themselves by a superior English education so that they may not be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water' (Kilsby, 1859).

3. Unification of the State - A Negative Rationale

There are two aspects of the involvement of language in unification. The first is the promotion of maximum communication, irrespective of the political organization of the state. Wherever two or more languages are spoken, a common language is an obvious advantage and this is true whether the state is a completely monolithic organization with a uniform political system, or a pluralistic and possibly segmented system. Whatever happens in Canada, or the United States in the movement towards pluralism (whether cultural only or cultural and political), a large number of people will need to know two languages, one of which is English. If we consider within the Soviet Union only the Russian Republic, the same is true - the members of the small nationalities such as the Bashkirs and Mari, or the Peoples of the North, will need to know Russian if they wish to live outside their restricted enclaves and be in a position to profit from industrial and technological advance. The argument based on political unification is somewhat different: basically it is identical with the 'melting pot' analogy. Theodore Roosevelt was among the most trenchant of its advocates in the United States. "Any man who comes here...must adopt the institutions of the United States and therefore he must adopt the language which is now the native tongue of her people...It would be not merely a misfortune but a crime to perpetuate differences of language in this country" (1917). This was also the Tsarist approach emulated by Stalin (in spite of Lenin's critical comments on 'Great Russian chauvinism'). Nor, even today, has the approach been eliminated in the Soviet Union where the direct and obstensible approach is to insist on the equality of all languages, but in fact to promote considerable differentiation of social usage among languages, the prestigious

domains like science and technology being appropriated by Russian (Lewis, 1975). Nor is the discouragement of national languages in the Soviet Union restricted to the Union itself, since the dream of a 'single, universal lingua franca' is kept alive and is part of the justification of a Federal lingua franca. (Gubolgo, 1972)

The vision is more limited in Wales but, none the less, beguiling. A Royal Commission pronounced that "intelligent and educated Welshmen put forth the bilingual theory as a last resort to secure the perpetuity of the Welsh language. But such a theory that a whole population will for all time keep up two languages when only one is necessary to society" is proof of intellectual perversity merely (1875). Such a stance was supported by some of the Welsh intelligentsia themselves: Britain should be bound by a uniform language: 'under one sceptre, a common code of laws with common interests it was desirable if but one common language prevailed'. (Blackwell, 1831). If the Welsh themselves took this view, it was not surprising that the English, even a great humanist like Mathew Arnold, should subscribe to it: "Whatever encouragement individuals may think it desirable to give to the preservation of the Welsh language on grounds of philological or antiquarian interest it must always be the desire of a Government to render its dominions ... homogenous and to break down the barriers to the freest possible intercourse between the different parts of them" (1865).

While there is a considerable emphasis on the positive rationale of acquiring two languages, there is also a highly negative strand in the political rationale - the attack upon 'nationalistic pretensions' as a means of emphasizing the value of the auxiliary major language. Arutyunian, the head of the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Ethnography, following his massive investigation of attitudes among Tatars, concludes that one of the most crucial functions of teaching and learning Russian among those whom he studied is to weaken 'nationalist prejudices' and national cultural narrow mindedness. (Vop.fill., 12/69, 129-39). Other writers take pains to stress this opposition to the retention of national affiliations: 'The attempt to restore obsolete cultural traditions and customs of life, to take the path of idealising the past', is deplorable since it leads to disunity (Kommunist, 1966, 5.70-71). In the last resort, however, the views of the minority striving to slough off economic subordination whether in Wales, the USSR or the United States tend to conform to those of the working classes in Norway reported by Haugen - problems of the means of communication are secondary when compared with economic well being: "What does it matter if one says 'groten i gryten' or 'grauten i gryta' (porridge in the pot) so long as the worker has enough of it". (Haugen, 1966, 113). The nadir of interest in bilingual education and of the promotion of Welsh in Britain coincided with the years of economic depression in the twenties and thirties.

E. BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOUNDED ON CONCEPTS OF JUSTICE

However, the political argument for bilingual education rests upon more fundamental considerations than the economic or the institutional. The foundation of any democratic society is the acceptance of a theory of distributive justice which sets the rules that determine the fundamental rights and duties of individuals and groups, the social and economic equalities and inequalities as well as the expectations founded on them. There are, of course, other fundamental social problems which affect justifications of bilingual education, for instance the coordination of the components of the social system (the way society hangs together to achieve common ends) in a comprehensible form; the efficiency with which it orders its affairs, as well as the maintenance of its stability. But, a large measure of agreement on conceptions of social justice is a prerequisite of a viable community whether it is linguistically homogenous or not. We cannot understand bilingual education without doing so within the framework of a concept of social justice which such an education is meant to ensure. A system of education is meant to promote as far as possible the fair distribution of the 'goods' which are produced within that society and these in the United States have been set out as 'health, wealth, and the pursuit of happiness'.

But, concepts of social justice differ and for that reason, among others, the form and structure of bilingual education as well as its justification will vary. Some multilingual societies argue that justice is done to the different groups when the benefit to society as a whole is maximized, when the advantages of the greatest number of the citizens of the United States outweighs whatever disadvantages may be experienced by minorities. This has been termed the 'utilitarian' concept (Rawls, 1973) and according to it, language policy is justified by the extent to which the country as a whole becomes more efficient, wealthier, stronger, more stable and more congenial; however, it behaves towards minority groups and their languages. This is the concept which governs bilingual education policy and language policy generally in the Soviet Union. The distribution of social roles among the different languages is determined not by whether the minority groups and its associated language gains or suffers by such role distribution but by whether the Soviet Union as a whole (in effect the State) is a beneficiary. This view has almost always been held by colonizing and imperial powers. Sometimes the State gains by recognizing the different minorities as was the case with the Persians who used a non-Iranian language throughout their vast empire while at the same time recognizing large numbers of ethnic languages locally. Sometimes the State believes it gains by ignoring the local languages as is generally the case with France, and was the case in the British Empire until almost the end of its supremacy, and has been the case in the United States until recently. The view cannot be dismissed out of hand and its feasibility is at least arguable. There may be a time in the process of nation-building when it is more advantageous even to the minorities, immigrants and indigenous alike, that the claims of the State and the incipient nation should prevail. At such a time it may be that an unequal distribution of obligations and rights is to everyone's advantage.

A variant of this 'utilitarian' concept of justice regards all languages in a plurilingual society as candidates whose claims have to be weighed against each other by asking which balance is the most just at a particular time and in respect of specified minorities. There is no single criterion for establishing a permanent balance of advantage. What this concept of justice among components of a society envisages is a permanently unstable equilibrium. Support for this or that language has to be adjusted continually according to educational criteria sometimes, at other times, according to demographic or economic or geographical distribution. This is basically the position in Switzerland where language frontiers may be adjusted from time to time as in the case of the Jura Canton. It is also the case in Belgium. According to the first principle of social justice and its variant, it is possible to justify providing full scale bilingual education for all, partial bilingual education for only one or two groups or the refusal of any form of such education.

The second concept of social justice envisages a completely different set of possibilities. According to this concept, justice is what is inherently fair. All languages and all individuals speaking whatever languages have an innate claim to have their rights safeguarded in and for themselves alone. The loss or disregard of one language, diminishing its role or restricting its currency in society is not made right by the fact that a larger number of people gain a greater advantage. The smallest and most insignificant language groups or individuals, like the largest and most powerful, have a right to exist and prosper irrespective of any calculation of profit and loss. This second principle of social justice between languages and between individuals speaking different languages has the advantage of being unequivocal. It has the disadvantage of being utopian, its realization fraught with difficulties. In spite of this difficulty it exerts a powerful influence on linguists since it has a very close affinity to the relativist philosophy of Herber and Humboldt which sees all languages as unique and therefore of equal value.

There are other fundamental social considerations which derive from these concepts. For instance, advocates of bilingual education, while agreeing that all language groups should be treated with equity, disagree on the question of whether such equality implies the right to press for the complete reorientation of the overall system of education as it exists: or, on the other hand, implies simply the opportunity to profit equally from the existing system of education. The Soviet Union interprets the concept of equal opportunity in the latter limited sense. In the United States some ethnic groups or segments of some of them, especially those who are Spanish-speaking, adopt the former more radical proposition; while other minorities, especially the descendants of older or more long standing immigrant groups of European origin, like the Scandinavians and Germans or Dutch adopt the more limited view.

It is open, then, to linguistic minorities in the free world, in seeking to realize the concept of equality in education to follow one of three paths. First, they can seek to transform the total mainstream system so that all education is reciprocally bilingual. This is what has been achieved to a considerable extent in the Welsh system of British education. Second, the minorities can seek to advance within the existing system while modifying it at those points where it concerns them: this is what is being attempted in Scotland in respect of the speakers of Gaelic and of them alone. The disadvantage of following this path is that it cannot hope to offer an integrated system of education within the country nor can it offer more than a series of bilingual programmes as distinct from a system of bilingual education. This, it appears to some, is what is being attempted in the United States. Third, a minority or minorities can seek to set up a separate system or separate systems of bilingual education independently of each other and of the mainstream system and so create a segmented system of education as is the case in Belgium and looks like being the case in Canada so far as Quebec is concerned. It also appears to be the aim of some Amerindian groups in the United States. The justification of bilingual education so conceived would clearly relate to the political ideas of con-sociational democracy or segmented pluralism and would have reverberations far beyond the area of education. Obviously none of these three alternatives is available in a totalitarian and authoritarian State like the Soviet Union where the system is uniform albeit uniformly bilingual, in theory if not in actual fact.

Whatever view one takes of the justification of bilingual education looked at from the point of view of social equality, there are different ways of structuring that equality within the system of education, and different justifications of the different types of structures. For instance, equality may mean the complete integration of the system of bilingual education into the mainstream system thus ensuring that potentially the main stream system becomes bilingual. This is the case in Wales where all types of school, elementary, secondary (Modern, Grammar or Comprehensive) as well as Higher Education, may be bilingual. In theory this is the case in the Soviet Union also, although practice belies promise. On the other hand, bilingual programmes may be structured in such a way that, though the total system is pluralist, some elements of the total complex are more prestigious than others: different streams or tracks for different ethnic groups as in the case of South Africa. In such a situation bilingual education is justified in the sense of ensuring separate development - linguistic <u>apartheid</u>. A third method of resolving the problem of equality within the existing structure of education is to ensure 'positive discrimination' in favour of groups who may have been disadvantaged historically. So far as the Blacks of America are concerned, this policy has been implemented spasmodically and could very well be extended to include groups for whom a bilingual education, as distinct from minority education, is relevant. It is implemented in Wales where the schools in thoroughly Welsh speaking areas, which may be regarded as having long standing and acute problems of education because of the incidence of bilingualism and the disproportionate number of small rural schools, receive higher grants and have a favourable pupil teacher ratio. For the same reasons, teachers are attracted to the heartlands of linguistic minori-

ties in the Soviet Union by the offer of higher salaries. The kind of structure of bilingual education which has been created accords with the kind of concept of social justice approved by a particular society. One cannot understand the system of bilingual education, to say nothing of the curriculum structure and organization of a school, without first analyzing the conceptual justification.

The considerations that have been advanced so far, to some extent abstract and general though they are, do not go to the root of the justification of bilingual education seen from the standpoint of theories of social justice. If we are to seek the ultimate justification, we have to ask "Who benefits?" By this we mean not so much which individual child so much as what level of the social structure - and specifically whether the system of education is governed by the needs of individuals or the wishes and aspirations of ethnic or national groups. Deseriev writing from the Soviet Union argues that 'language policy should aim at the full development of human beings as well as the full development of each language community and region' (Deseriev, 1974). The statement is meaningless. Nothing would be more satisfactory than the achievement of such a double aim but that consummation is impossible. The full development of the one must involve some adjustment of the legitimate demands of the other so that the question to be asked is where the main thrust of the policy should be, whether towards the full development of the individual primarily or the full development of the group primarily. In practice it may so happen that a balance is struck which does not greatly harm individual or group aspirations. But, unless there is a clear conceptual framework within which bilingual education is planned, oriented towards the one or the other in the main though not exclusively, the result is apt to be unsatisfactory to both. So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the answer is simple and unequivocal - the education of the individual is subordinate to the demands and the needs of the group. The development of the individual is determined by the characteristics of his group. Deseriev implies that individual and group aspirations are not only compatible but synonymous; and that the consequences of achieving the one are identical with the consequences of achieving the other. In fact, so far as concerns a democratic society, they may be irreconcilable. This is not to say that the individual does not benefit from the advance of his group or that he does not contribute to that advance. But the fact that the two entities are in principle, mutually supportive does not mean that they should not be considered separately in formulating policy. My group affiliation as a Welshman is not all that I am. I claim the right as an autonomous person to dissent from some of the goals which the ethnic group may advocate; and even if I support the goals, I claim the secondary right to dissent from the structural system which may be built to achieve those aims. The legitimate aims of the individual and the group to which he belongs may not necessarily coincide, and when it comes to the point of decision the autonomous person has the last word. Unquestionably, as John Stuart Mill argued 'the liberty of the individual must be thus far circumscribed that he must not make himself a nuisance to other people' (1957 ed). Nevertheless, the thrust of this approach to education and particularly bilingual education is best expressed in the words of Walt Whitman: 'I swear nothing is good to me now save individuals'.

Furthermore, whether or not individual and group aspirations are compatible or coincide in particular instances, the bases on which individuals and groups claim their right to decide the orientation of education differ. For the bilingual individual certain rights (of which the right to determine the appropriate education he should receive is fundamental) are based on claims of natural justice. It is not circumscribed by any circumstance, and it is the foundation on which a democratic society is built. The justification on which a group claims the right to determine the orientation of a form of education is based on several considerations. It may be enshrined in a constitution or contract as it is in the Soviet Union, where the right to maintain and use the ethnic language is guaranteed in the Articles constituting the Union. The claim may be based on political agreement worked out over a long period of time in the same way as other agreements are reached in a democratic society, sometimes after a campaign of militant activism as was the case in Wales at the end of the last century and even more so in Ireland. It may be based on treaties made between conquered or incorporated minorities and the State, as was the case with some Amerindian tribes. But in all these cases, the claim is determined by historical events and is the expression of a contingent right, a matter of convention rather than inherent or natural justice. Individuals may devolve to the group or nation some of the innate rights they possess, usually so as to obtain greater security because of the greater leverage a large group may possess compared with individuals. But, such devolution is an expedient and the right of the individual remains inalienable.

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"WHAT ARE THE FOUNDATIONS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION?"

A reaction to
E. Glyn Lewis' paper, "Foundations of Bilingual Education"

By: Armando Cotayo
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It is the intent of this discussion of Lewis' paper, first, to analyze its underlying social perspective, its value position, and the mode of analysis used. Then I shall relate each section of the paper to our experience in the United States, raise some further questions, and finally, suggest what I consider to be collectively beneficial socio-educational aims.

Lewis defines bilingual education in relative terms as an institution based on aims and goals, the major determinant of which is the societal context wherein it exists. Bilingual education, thus, varies according to prevailing and historical circumstances. Lewis views bilingual education as characteristic of the process of modernization, and explains how changes in the structure and nature of society bring about disciplinary paradigm shifts in the study of bilingualism and bilingual education. These paradigm shifts in turn affect the foundations considered. He then analyzes the relationship of bilingual education to ethnicity and politics/economics. Lastly, he presents a case for bilingual education founded on concepts of justice. Identifying three alternatives available to minorities, he asserts that in a democratic society, the fundamental principle of a bilingual education is the inalienable right of the individual to be educated in his language as well as that of the nation in which he resides.

Lewis' assumptions regarding society integrate characteristics of the functionalist/consensus perspective and the conflict perspective. On the one hand, he views society as being systemic in that the action of its parts--in this case, education (bilingual) as an institution--serve to satisfy the needs of society as a whole and, therefore, function to maintain it. Societal needs satisfied by bilingual education are the need for a literate labor force; the need to socialize and assimilate masses belonging to different language groups; the need to neutralize allegedly negative psychological consequences of bilingualism--all of the former lead to the satisfaction of the need for mass participation in the social and political scheme of things. Finally, bilingual education in complex societies, where languages and cultures interact and conflict, serves to affirm ethnic identity, to guide and control the rate of change, and to channel the conflict. In this latter function particularly, Lewis' interpretation is characteristic of Coser's "conflict functionalism" perspective (1956).

On the other hand, albeit to a lesser degree, Lewis recognizes society as a context within which struggles result from inequality between groups with varied interests--namely, subordinate and dominant groups. Bilingual education arises in order to redistribute political and economic power. Furthermore, it is the characteristic of society, the level of modernization and industrial development, and the social organization which are presented as the

consequential factors affecting group relations and perspectives, and thus, bilingual education foundations. This latter position is more characteristic of Marx's and Dahrendorf's conflict model or theoretical perspective (Turner, 1978).

Implicit in this work is a positive valuing of change, particularly in the pursuit of principles of social justice. Lewis' value position favors the interpretation of the social good as individual freedom of choice with regard to language and culture, and he advocates the right to dissent from the goals of any group. Social problems in his perspective are system dysfunctions, the solutions of which are sought through further institutionalization of social system values. He cites the example of South Wales, where the problem of alienation and dislocation of working populations as a result of industrialization is thought to be solvable by culturally assimilating, through education, masses who speak different languages and belong to different social classes. Lewis' analysis assumes that democratic states (nations) and laws are organs of the total society, acting to promote some sort of "balanced" common good. He assumes that the acquisition of rights in constitutionally based societies is possible in fact, if guaranteed by the "social contract."

In his analysis, understanding is sought through the use of a theory of modernization. The framework is a four-stage model of modernization in the Middle East and Turkey, by which historically specific patterns may be identified. He reviews the resulting changes in approaches to the study of bilingualism and in the aims and goals of bilingual education in relation to the historical circumstances. He substantiates his theoretical position with international evidence throughout history.

The mode of analysis assumes conditions of objectivity with regard to <u>what is thought to be</u> on the basis of research and <u>what actually is</u> in fact; the question of the researcher's theoretical perspective is not considered to be significant. Although Lewis recognizes the importance of ideology and ethnic culture, his analysis is founded primarily on a social base. The role of culture is considered to be that of establishing group identity and, as a maintainer of tradition, as an important source of authority. His analysis begins with factors such as mode of production, societal structures, socio-occupational mobility, and political participation or pluralism as major determinants. He points to the fact that socio-political rationales exist for any form of education, including bilingual; however, he contends that the "outcome has to be seen as better instruction in English and better opportunities to learn" in other academic areas. In this case, his assumption is conservative. He considers possible the achievement of educational goals either simultaneously with, or prior to, the achievement of political goals.

The dominant concept of the analysis, evolutionary modernization, emphasizes the functional prerequisites for maintenace of the social system.

The definition of bilingual education as an institution having

varied forms and aims depending on historical circumstances is dynamic and encompassing. This definition is particularly useful in that bilingual education is often discussed as an unvarying phenomenon. However, further consideration must be given to Lewis' statement that all forms and aims may be equally valid depending on the set of circumstances. It should be mentioned that within the same set of circumstances, different actors and observers may form different interpretations. Within the same reality, it becomes necessary to determine who establishes criteria for judging the validity of aims and who benefits from what is considered appropriate.

Lewis is in favor of using the phrase "the education of bilingual children" in order to shift the focus from the institution to the individual. This approach may facilitate the analytical process, but we must be cautious not to lose sight of our reality in the United States, where bilingual education, viewed holistically, is a complex phenomenon, involving social institutions other than education; monolinguals and semilinguals; a very wide range of age; and the political power of organized groups, rather than individuals achieving change in favor of bilingual instruction. Lewis rightly interprets foundations of bilingual education beyond the prerequisite of bilingualism, to mean the aims and goals intended to be achieved through this educational approach. In our bureaucratic system of organization, the transition from the abstractions of researchers, planners, and policy-makers "to the much more change-resistant societal reality of resource scarcities, vested interests, power relations, and the commitment of individuals and collectives to values that may be incompatible with a particular program" (Etzioni, 1976) make implementation highly problematic. I would add that the study of foundations of bilingual education might be better undertaken comparatively by contrasting intended goals with consequences obtained at varying times and in different places and circumstances. I am in full agreement that the societal context of bilingual education must be considered. Only if the economic, political, and social arrangements, as well as social policies prevailing, are considered in the paradigm, can we expect knowledge gained to be useful to inform theory and to guide practice.

In analyzing the relation of modernization/industrialization to bilingual education in the United States, one may question whether in fact their relationship may be direct but negative, rather than positive as Lewis contends--at least in the initial stages of modernization. As we experienced the trend of change from a traditional society with a rural-based, decentralized economy and education system, to a modern society with a factory-based, more centralized urban economy, bilingual education--which had existed here since the Colonial period (Kloss, 1970; Leibowitz, 1971)--began to diminish. Centralization in economics and politics coincided with waves of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe in the 19th century. These immigrants were different in language, religion, culture, and physical characteristics from those who had arrived earlier. By this time, a racist belief system was sanctioned by the Euro-American community (Fredrikson, in Mullings, 1978). The ideology of racism had developed as an organized system of belief in the previous century, to rationalize slavery.

These two forces, the trend in social change toward centralization and the prevailing racist and nationalistic ideologies, led to assimilative language and cultural policies in education. Linguistically, English became the only language used for instruction; culturally, "assimilation and Americanization included teaching them (the immigrants) how to speak English, inspecting their heads for lice, lecturing them on cleanliness and hygiene, teaching them to salute the American flag, to recite the Pledge of Allegiance, to sing the National Anthem, and to revere American heroes" (Ravitch, 1974). [It is no wonder, as Julia Richman pointed out, that the schools had difficulty locating the children of immigrants, despite compulsory school attendance laws (Deffenbaugh, 1914).]

With further industrial and economic expansion during World War I, there was an abandonment of bilingual schooling and a decline in foreign language studies, partly due to the nationalism which prevailed until shortly after the Second World War (Keller, 1976). Upon the return of minority veterans from World War II, many of them (predominantly Chicano) began to organize in order to have more political participation and greater power. This political awareness may have been due, in part, to modernization. Accepting the premise that education was a prerequisite for entry into the American mainstream, they began to demand special language-related educational programs (Gonzalez, 1975). This, together with the challenge posed by the international situation between world powers; the effects of the civil rights movement; later, the studies by Peal and Lambert (1962) indicating a positive relationship between bilingualism and intelligence; Fishman and others (1964) documenting the maintenance and perpetuation of mother tongues other than English in this country; and finally, but of great political significance, the positive findings of the Coral Way Bilingual School in Miami (Richardson, 1968) --all led to the second entry of bilingual education into the educational history of the United States. Thus, it was not until over half a century after this country's modernization that public bilingual schooling began to flourish.

Socio-political consciousness and action must be credited with having brought about the re-emergence of bilingual education. And it is a socio-political function that bilingual education has come to serve Not only are there demands for academic achievement and ethnic identity, but perhaps just as importantly, also for respect and legitimacy for ethnicity. Considering all the aforementioned circumstances in the American milieu, it is questionable whether Lewis' theoretical prediction of bilingual education as a result of modernization would apply in the U.S. experience.

The influential disciplines in formulating the foundations of bilingual education have been psychology and linguistics. Monolingual education in this country has also been guided by the paradigm of psychology, explaining educational achievement in terms of the individual's genetic and cultural characteristics (ability as measured by I.Q. and motivation). As studied, the causal variables have been the characteristics of the participants involved in the process, rather than the characteristics of the societal context in which the process takes place (Pershell, 1977). These notions have led to a policy of equality of

educational opportunity, resulting in compensatory educational programs. These programs are intended to compensate for supposed socio-cultural and/or genetic deficits. Public bilingual education in the U.S., as conceived in Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1968 and its subsequent amendments, falls in this educational category. Its major assumption is that introducing the non-English mother tongue in the school provides speakers of that language with an equal opportunity for academic achievement. Moreover, the U.S. Supreme Court, in Lau v. Nichols (1974), held on statutory grounds that "there is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education."

Since in American society, the importance of academic achievement is based on the premise that education is related to social position, providing equal educational opportunity through bilingual education implies the provision of equal social (economic and political) opportunity. Bilingual Education is offered for its instrumental value--that is, as a means to the achievement of some other good.

It is more recently that researchers in other social science disciplines have undertaken the study of bilingualism and bilingual education from their perspectives. This is perhaps the reason why Lewis considers us to be in the fourth stage of the model, the one in which literacy, national consensus about social values (involving assimilation), and awareness of social and cultural issues have been achieved. He considers awareness of cultural issues to be identified with an intensification of ethnic affiliations and origins. This condition brings about the emergence of the concept of cultural pluralism. The concept of cultural pluralism originated in this country around 1914, through the work of the philosopher Horace Kallen. At that time, he commented that "so old-fashioned a teaching is at present time nowhere in the U.S. Both British Tories and American intellectuals reject it. They reject it because they find themselves all at once undermined in all their customary securities--in their securities of habit, of thought, of outlook--but the shift of the social facts upon which the securities were postulated" (Kallen, 1924).

Today, sixty-five years later, we may be experiencing a growing awareness of ethnicity, but the concept of cultural pluralism serves mainly as rhetoric used to describe societal goals. In fact, our cultural diversity can scarcely be said to exhibit characteristics necessary for pluralism. Cultural pluralism must include recognition, respect, and positive valuing of difference, as well as exclude the coincidence of characteristics with social class.

Matters of ethnicity and bilingual education need further study. First, ethnicity in the United States cannot be studied as if it were a uniform phenomenon. The social, economic, and political reality of

ethnic groups which came to this country voluntarily and have been able to maintain well-organized communities, despite non-acceptance, is not the same as the reality of groups which became part of the system in some sort of "conquered" or "colonized" status. It follows that the type of bilingual education associated with these groups would need to vary according to their aims. For the organized communities which have secured their share of power, ethnocultural maintenance bilingual education may be functional. However, for the powerless, underprivileged groups, maintenance-type bilingual education may be dysfunctional. The possible effects of segregation or separatism would be highly adverse, economically, politically, culturally, and socially.

The negative rationale for bilingualism is presented as being the unification of the state, assuming efficiency in communication and political organization. Fishman (1978) has addressed similar negative arguments claiming disadvantages in the achievement of universalism, efficiency, and freedom. He contends that "the reason for such negative views of bilingualism are not hard to find. They derive from monolingual economic, political, cultural, and ideological investments or establishments and from the self-serving world-views that they have fostered." That is, it is self-interest that underlies such justifications. It is crucial that the groups most negatively affected by such explanations upholding established policies expose their illegitimacy and act in a politically organized manner to alter them.

I shall now raise some unanswered questions related to both the sections on ethnicity and politics:

-- Are aims of ethnic cultural maintenance and aims of socioeconomic-political mobility mutually exclusive for groups which have become part of this system in a conquered or colonized status?

-- Are aims of socioeconomic-political mobility and aims of cultural pluralism viable for all groups in a reciprocal system of bilingual education, or will such a reciprocal system promote bilingualism but leave all groups in the same socioeconomic-political position?

-- Given the wide range of social inequality (including the three p's: power, privilege, and prestige) and, further, that particular ethnic groups are located in the lower strata of society:
    1) Can their education be considered separate from their economics and politics? and
    2) Can a bilingual education alone be expected to produce academic achievement without a coordinated policy involving other socioeconomic-political institutions?

In the last section, Lewis presents the major concepts of social justice guiding policy. He outlines three major alternatives open to minorities, which may be classified as conservative, reformist, and revolutionary. In the conservative alternative, minorities seek to advance within the existing system. In the reformist alternative, minorities seek transformation of the total system so that it will become reciprocally bilingual. The revolutionary alternative would set up a separate system.

Our present policy for bilingual education, both at the national level and in most states, is the conservative alternative. Its manifest goal is the achievement of equal educational opportunity. As has been mentioned, bilingual education is utilized to address indirectly the issues of social stratification (economic and political). Psychological and ethno-cultural dimensions are not comprehensively and thoroughly considered. Adequate consideration of these dimensions--particularly identity and attitude--would not result in displacement of the mother tongue and culture after a given period of time. The policy is based on a utilitarian concept of justice, which focuses on the interest of the state as a whole by offering a limited recognition of minority languages. Further, it is based on an ideology which assumes that success is directly proportional to an individual's ability, or "brains."

This policy alternative, as Fishman (1976b) has pointed out on the basis of his international study of bilingual education, is generally imposed on the "disadvantaged," for whom it is either "mandated" or "allowed." In essence, it inhibits the development of sensitivity to cultural differences, and ultimately it serves to destroy bilingualism. What is worse, it is doubtful whether such an approach can achieve its explicit goal of providing equality of opportunity.

The revolutionary position, which seeks separate systems, may in some instances be considered illegal in the United States ("separate but equal"). In any case, given the limitations of what separate systems are capable of doing within a highly structured socioeconomic-political context, it is wise to be cautious, for the practice might lead to future geographic and occupational separatism to the further disadvantage of those who are already underprivileged.

The reformist position, which seeks to transform the system to be reciprocally bilingual, may be viable here. There seems to be growing awareness of the fact that notions of distributive justice must consider factors such as sex, race and ethnicity. Americans of all hyphenated groups

are becoming increasingly conscious that it is not "brains" (ability as demonstrated by I.Q. and motivation) but social position (class or status of origin) which ultimately accounts for achievement or success (income and occupational status) in our society (Collins, 1971; Bowles and Gintis, 1973).

Our existing policy of equality of opportunity is based on notions of distributive justice, guided by a social philosophy known as liberalism (acceptance of private property, private economic motives and actions, and political and legal equality as central social institutions). This social philosophy is rooted in biopsychological explanations of inequality, expressed in its early forms by Plato; in the 17th century, by Hobbes and Locke; in the 18th century, by Saint Simon and Comte; in the 19th century, by Spencer. The idea that inequality stems from differences among individuals is the dominant theme of American political and social theory. James Madison, for example, argued in the Federalist paper #10 that government is necessary because of conflicts over property, and that differences in amounts and types of property individuals own are due to "diversity in the faculties of men."

This interpretation of inequality considers merit an innate characteristic of the individual, and society's role is only to bring it out through education and competition. The biopsychological approach constituted the core of the liberal world view from the 17th through the 19th centuries, and was closely related to the needs of capitalism (Rossides, 1976).

On the other hand, there is another dominant theme in Western social theory which explains inequality as the outcome of sociocultural variables. It stems from Rousseau's concept of man in his original state as being equal to all others, and that only in the society of others does he develop language, property, law, and inequality. The basic factors accounting for inequality are the division of labor and the attendant conventions of property.

The other major representatives of the sociocultural view of inequality are Marx and Weber. Although there were differences in their interpretation of the nature of influential social forces, they agreed that "no such phenomenon as human nature can be identified as a cause of behavior; what we call human nature is the result of sociocultural forces, and the deep, observable differences among human beings are the result of social stratification, not its cause" (Rossides, 1976). That is,

Social inequality ⟶ differences among individuals

NOT

Differences among individuals ⟶ social inequality

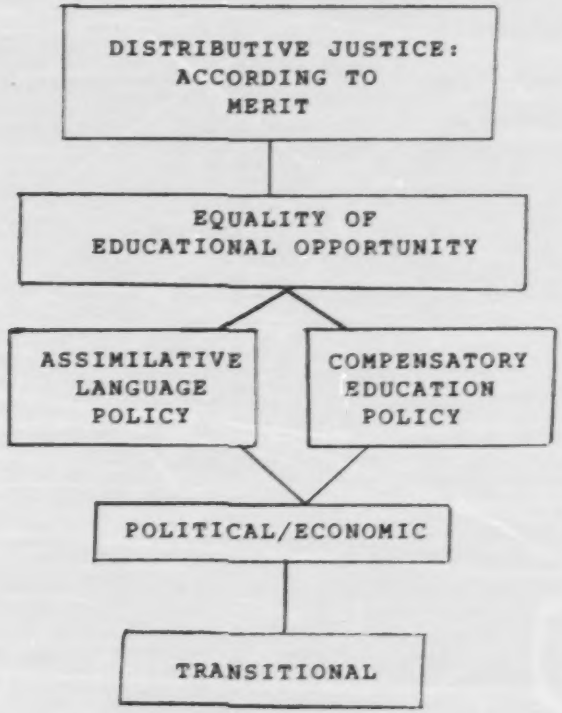
It seems a fairer conceptualization for policy to consider notions of distributive justice based on individuals' and groups' rights or entitlements, which would lead to a different interpretation of equality of opportunity. Historical analysis would be required to determine the extent to which underprivileged minorities have been unjustly disadvantaged, and the extent to which they should be idemnified. Precedents for idemnification programs exist in Germany for Jews after Nazi abuses, and in this country for American Indians.

Historical analysis should begin at the point at which our society established itself constitutionally as a nation. This approach is not inconceivable in view of the U.S. Supreme Court justices' opinions in the case of Bakke v. the Regents of California. Justices Brennan, White, Marshall, and Blackmun concluded that the purpose of "remedying the effects of past societal discrimination" is important enough to warrant "race-conscious admission programs where there is a sound basis for concluding that minority underrepresentation is substantial and chronic, and that this handicap of past discrimination is impeding access of minorities to medical school" (Greenwalt, 1979). Reasoning which includes as essential consideration of past discrimination would be highly consequential in the determination of affirmative action policies and, possibly, rectification programs.

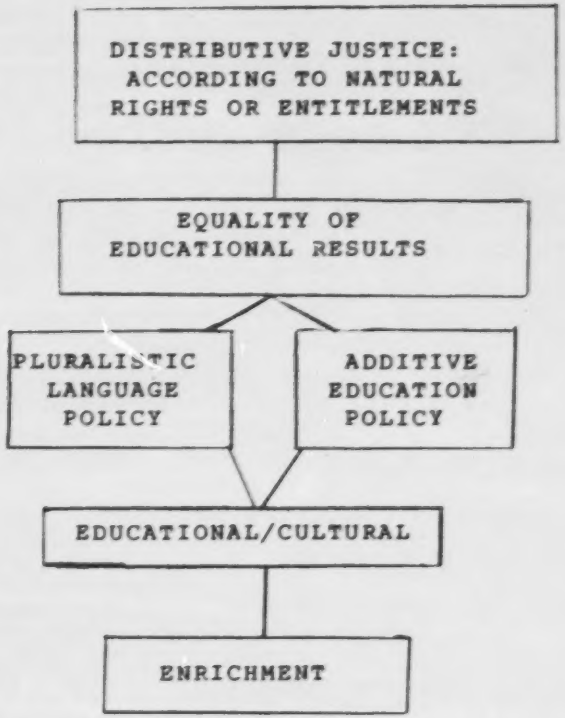
These notions of distributive justice would lead to a policy of equality of results as defined by Coleman (1968). Such policy would aim for equitably distributed results of academic achievement across all racial/ethnic groups in American society, placing the burden of responsibility on the institution rather than on the individual. The educational policy would be an additive one; that is, an enrichment experience for all. It would incorporate additional languages and cultures into the educational institution, in accordance with its foundations of cultural relativism rather than cultural deficit. (See Figure 1.)

FIGURE ONE:

EXISTING POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE U.S.



PROPOSED POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE U.S.



The last path seems to be the most promising in its potential to yield positive educational, economic, and political consequences for such ethnocultural groups as American Indians, Chicanos (Mexican-Americans), and Puerto Ricans in the United States. Alternatives totally satisfying all groups, dominant as well as subordinant, are unlikely. However, a commitment to social justice in a democratic society must seek primarily the greatest benefit for the least advantaged. Equality of results cannot presuppose a rigid interpretation of equality of opportunity when groups that have been historically oppressed or bypassed are concerned.

Finally, I agree with Lewis that the right of the individual must be given ultimate consideration. However, when the individual's right conflicts with that of his group, and the two are irreconcilable, the individual's right should be overridden for the socioeconomic and political advantage of his group. This is imply an abstract consideration, for in reality, such has never been the case. Even where bilingual education is required by the ASPIRA- Board of Education Consent Decree (1974) for any student of limited English-speaking proficiency, the parents of such students are free to "opt out" of the bilingual alternative (Santiago de Santiago, 1977). However, the conditions of minority groups in this country are not likely to improve if rugged individualism is the socio-philosophical foundation of our practice.

A strong emphasis on individual political rights favors the powerful who possess the resources to mobilize in their self-interest. It aggravates the problem of social inequality and; thus, cannot lead to a more peaceful socio-political order.

Whether referring to the realm of science, economics, politics, the environment, or education, the conditions of our time are commonly described as critical. Bilingual education has the ability to nurture and enrich the lives of individuals and groups, linguistically, culturally, economically, politically, and aesthetically. It offers to all the possibility to live in a more human society, with a more equitable distribution of "health, wealth, and happiness."

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"THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS*"

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> What are the important theoretical and programmatic dimensions of bilingual programs, and what are the theoretical dimensions of the communities in which the programs exist? (From Project Abstract, National Institute of Education, 1977)

For the purposes of this paper, I would like to rephrase this question as follows:

1) What are the key independent variables or causal factors which influence bilingual education programs?[1]

2) What are the key dependent variables or outcomes of bilingual education programs?

3) What are some of the major intervening variables or factors modifying such outcomes?

INTRODUCTION

The major point of this paper is that there is no single answer to these questions, but rather that the identification of the "important theoretical dimensions," i.e. the independent variables, and the

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*Revision of a report presented at the Conference on the Dimensions of Bilingual Education, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C., February 14-15, 1977.

1. In this paper I am using the standard U.S. Office of Education definition of bilingual education: "Bilingual education is the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well organized program which encompasses part or all of the curriculum and includes the study of the history/culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's self esteem and a legitimate pride in both cultures." (Many of the bilingual education programs in Europe cited by Fishman (1976) fall outside the scope of this definition.)

interpretation of outcomes depend on the worldview of the researcher and the particular theory he employs to explain and predict phenomena. In this paper I will attempt to outline some major theories of social and educational change and to delineate the identification and interpretation of variables of bilingual education within the framework of each particular theory. In so doing, I am drawing heavily on the work by R.G. Paulston (1976).

We can probably all agree on the basic phenomena which form the background to Title VII bilingual education programs in the United States and which gave rise to the original legislation of Title VII: there are a number of children from a low socioeconomic status (SES) background who speak no or poor English and who encounter massive school failure with consequent early school drop out and low integration into the economic life of the nation.[2] It is when we consider why this is so, what treatment these children should be accorded, and what outcomes should follow that considerable disagreement ensues. Such scholarly disagreement at times becomes public (see e.g. the 1976 issues of The Linguistic Reporter and The TESOL Newsletter; or the Linguistic Society of America's as well as the American Anthropological Association's censure of the work of Arthur Jensen) and divisive.

Although other fields of study have looked at scholarly strife within their disciplines from the notion of Kuhn's paradigm shift (1970), I know of no attempt to understand the dimensions of bilingual education from a conceptual framework of paradigms. By paradigms, Kuhn means "the way a scientific/professional community views a field of study, identifies appropriate problems for study, and specifies legitimate concepts and methods. He contends that:

> Men whose research is based on shared paradigms are committed to the same rules and standards... and continuation of a particular research tradition... paradigm is a criterion for choosing problems that, while the paradigm is taken for granted, can be assumed to have solutions. To a great extent, these are the only problems that the community will admit as scientific or encourage its members to undertake. A paradigm can even isolate the community from those socially important problems that are not reducible to puzzle form, because they cannot be stated in terms of the conceptual and instrumental tools the paradigm supplies (Kuhn cited in R.G. Paulston 1976:5).

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[2] I recognize that there are numerous other types of bilingual education programs, (see e.g. the discussion of typologies in Fishman, 1976), but for the purposes of this paper I will draw primarily on the research of bilingual education in North America.

In other words, it is only through an examination of the various theoretical frameworks used to explain and predict the phenomena of bilingual education that we can put into perspective the conflicting or at times complementary research questions and the anticipated solutions as they relate to the dimensions of bilingual education.

R.G. Paulston, drawing on the literature of social and educational change, posits two major paradigms: the functional or "equilibrium" paradigm and the conflict paradigm (see Appendix A). Theories (which admittedly cross and overlap) that fall within the "equilibrium" paradigm are evolutionary and neo-evolutionary, structural-functionalist, and system analytical. Basically these theories are all concerned with maintaining society in an equilibrium through the harmonious relationship of the social components and they emphasize smooth, cumulative change. Theoretical approaches which fall within the conflict paradigm are group conflict theory, cultural revitalization theory, and an anarchistic-utopian approach. "Theories which cluster more or less within the conflict paradigm emphasize the inherent instability of social systems and the conflicts over values, resources, and power that follow as a natural consequence" (R.G. Paulston 1976:7). Major issues are economic conflict, conflicting value and cultural systems, and conflict arising from oppressive institutions and imperfect human nature.

Assuredly, all of these theoretical approaches are not equally represented in the attempts to delimit and comprehend the dimensions of bilingual education. Nevertheless, it is instructive to examine studies typical of each approach for their underlying assumptions, basic questions, and punitive solutions in order to illustrate the basic premise of this paper, namely that each theory will identify differently the key variables and their relationships, and consequently the answers they seek will differ. Even at times when the question remains the same, for example, "identify the most effective conditions for educating children of limited English-speaking ability" (Work Statement), the goals and the means to those goals will vary according to the theoretical approach. For the purpose of illustration, I have identified a number of studies which most clearly exemplify a particular approach. Granted, a number of studies incorporates aspects from more than one theoretical framework, and on the whole I have tended to avoid such studies. Furthermore, a very-large number of studies on bilingual education are purely descriptive and atheoretical; such studies I have ignored. It is readily seen then that this paper does not intend a review of the literature (for that, see Engle 1975; Fishman 1976; C.B. Paulston 1974a) but rather a selective analysis of a few template works.

THE EQUILIBRIUM PARADIGM

A. Evolutionary Theory

> Classical evolutionary theories are strongly influenced by Darwin's work on biological evolution and seek sociological analogues to the living organism (L. Ward, 1904; Parsons, 1964). They are characterized by notions of progress, by stages of development from lower- to higher-order forms. Society is viewed as an organism with specialized structures facilitating survival. Education, as an "integrative" structure, functions to maintain stability and changes from "simple" or "primitive" forms to more complex "modern" forms in response to change in other structures. Thus as societies "progress" or become increasingly differentiated (here the evolutionists borrow the biologists' exact terminology), educational systems come under increasing pressure to specialize and adapt (R.G. Paulston 1976:7).

The only theoretical approach relating to bilingual education which falls in the evolutionary category is the genetic theories of Jensen (1969), Herrnstein (1971), and others. In short, the geneticists account for the lack of school achievement by students from minority groups, as well as by those from lower SES background, on the ground of these students' hereditary inferior intelligence quotients (I.Q.). Few issues so well illustrate the paradigm clash as the debate over I.Q., and to illustrate, I would like to draw at length on Bowles, Gintis, and Meyer's critique (1975-76), written from a group conflict perspective, of both Jensen and his colleagues and of the structural-functionalists' position on this issue.

Bowles, Gintis, and Meyer (1975-76 - an adaptation of Bowles and Gintis, 1975) consider the educational system in the United States as a mechanism for the reproduction of the social division of labor and focus their inquiry on the legitimation of this division and on the process of assigning individuals to its various positions. "We say that a social process is <u>legitimated</u> when individuals are sufficiently convinced of its inevitability, desirability, or justness that united class action towards the transformation of the process is rendered infeasible" (p. 234). They examine this legitimation function within what they label technocratic-meritocratic ideology which, as they define it, corresponds fairly closely to the structural-functionalist position:

> The educational system legitimates economic inequality by providing an ostensibly open, objective and meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal economic positions. Indeed, the more meritocratic the

> educational process appears, the better it serves to legitimate inequality. For the educational system fosters and reinforces the belief that economic success depends on the possession of technical and cognitive skills -- skills which it is organized to provide in an efficient, equitable and unbiased manner on the basis of the meritocratic principle (p. 234).

They cite (p. 237) the conclusion that Davis and Moore reach in their highly influential "functional theory of stratification": "Social inequality is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons" (Davis and Moore in Bendix and Lipset, 1966). Bowles, Gintis and Meyer go on to argue against such an interpretation: educational tracking based on competitive grading and objective test scores is only tangentially related to social efficiency. Nowhere are the notions of meritocracy seen more clearly, they continue, than in the recent I.Q. debate between the geneticists and the structural-functionalists where it is assumed that I.Q. is an important indicator of economic success, an assumption the authors consider faulty.

The authors point out that the major periods of liberal educational reform have been marked by a lack of concern with genetically inherited characteristics when the major problem rather was perceived to be one of structuring an environment that would promote rather than retard individual growth. "Yet the demise of each liberal reform movement has been greeted by a genetic backlash: if improving the school environment does not achieve its elevated objectives, there must be something wrong with the kids" (p. 249). (I note in passing that this is likely to be the reaction of the technocratic-meritocratic oriented Congress if the bilingual education programs don't show rapid improvement on competitive grading and objective test scores.)

And so Jensen argues in 1969 that the failure of compensatory education to raise scholastic achievement levels must be due to the hereditability of I.Q.[3]

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[3] The censure of Jensen's work by the members of the Linguistic Society of America at the annual conference business meeting in St. Louis 1971 provides us with a perfect example of a paradigm clash. The questions and the findings of Jensen's work were so unpalatable to the linguists that although only a handful of linguists present had actually read "How Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?", the overwhelming majority did not hesitate to condemn his work.

> The assertions of Jensen, Herrnstein and others constituted a fundamental attack on the liberal reformist position. Yet the defense has been curiously superficial: the putative economic importance of I.Q. has remained undocumented by the genetic school and unchallenged by the environmentalists. ...not one of their environmentalist critics has taken the economic importance of I.Q. any less for granted (p. 250).

Bowles, Gintis, and Meyer on the other hand claim, on the basis of their empirical data, that I.Q. is not an important cause of economic success and that "the intense debate on the heritability of I.Q. is thus largely irrelevant to an understanding of poverty, wealth, and inequality of opportunity in the United States" (p. 251). They go on to point out that the "modern liberal approach" is to attribute social class differences to "unequal opportunity"; i.e. the failures and successes of parents are passed onto their children via distinct learning and cultural environments. "The achievement of a more equal society merely requires that all youth be afforded the educational and other social conditions of the best and most successful" (p. 254), an assumption reminiscent of that behind Title VII. The liberals don't deal with I.Q. differences among whites (which the authors seem to accept) of different social class backgrounds nor do they question the causal role of I.Q. in getting ahead economically.

> Thus the proposition, adhered to by present day conservatives and liberals of past generations, that social classes sort themselves out on the basis of innate individual capacity to cope successfully in the social environment, and hence tend to reproduce themselves from generation to generation, is restored (p. 255).

The authors conclude by presenting data to support their major proposition: "the fact that economic success tends to run in the family arises almost completely independently from any inheritance of I.Q.; genetic or environmental" (p. 258). "The power and privilege of the capitalist class are often inherited, but not through superior genes" (p. 263). In other words, high SES is transmitted to the children of parents of high SES, and one mechanism of this transmittance is the school system.

We see then, on this particular issue, that although the three approaches - evolutionary (genetic school), structural-functionalist (technico-meritocratic liberals), and group conflict (Bowles, Gintis and Meyer) - recognize the same variables and, as well, their underlying assumptions vary widely.

The following chart may help clarify this point:

APPROACH	VARIABLES: Independent	Intervening	Dependent
EQUILIBRIUM:			
A. Evolutionary	I.Q.	Scholastic Success	Economic success SES
	Assumption:	I.Q. hereditary	
B. Structural-Functionalist	I.Q./Merit	Function of school to select according to merit in division of labor	Economic success SES
	Assumption:	I.Q. by nurture (unequal opportunity); schools give equal chance to meritorious students	
Conflict			
Group Conflict	SES	Assumption:	I.Q. hereditary but irrelevant as a variable; schools function in the interest of the elites

B. Structural Functional Theory

> Although the structural-functional, or S/F, framework is a discrete set of interrelated assumptions about values, norms, and appropriate questions and methods, it is to a considerable degree a twentieth-century version of evolutionary theory. But where the evolutionists placed primary emphasis on linked stages of socioeconomic and cultural development the S/F theorists focus on the homeostatic or balancing mechanisms by which societies maintain a "uniform state." Both theories view societies as essentially stable yet highly complex and differentiated. As the values embodied in institutions such as the educational sub-systems are viewed as extremely durable, boundary exchanges between the sub-system and the environment will be equilibrating, i.e. they will tend toward balance (R.G. Paulston 1976:13).

Structural-functional theory, as exemplified by Merton (1957), Homans (1950), and Parsons (1951) (Larkin, 1970), has been the dominant influence on the interpretation of educational systems and valid educational reform. I don't think that it is an exaggeration to say that the majority of writings on bilingual education fall under this category as I shall attempt to illustrate. Indeed, Fishman's paper under consideration (1976) was criticized by Nieves-Squires (1976) for its basically structural-functional orientation.[4] This approach tends to be the position (almost always tacitly assumed) of the ESL proponents in the ESL vs. BE controversy. And it is most certainly the position of the U.S. Government.

In the Bilingual Education Act, the U.S. Congress recognized the problems of limited English-speaking children from low income families and spells out the measures to be taken in order to cope with these problems:

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4 It needs to be pointed out that individual scholars cannot be typed according to specific theories, but only individual works can be typed. So Larkin is careful to point out that Homans (1961) "has moved away from structural functionalism to a more social-psychological point of view as indicated by the content of his book, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms" (1970:112). Furthermore, many scholars write from a viewpoint which incorporates elements from both equilibrium and conflict theories; certainly an alternative interpretation of Fishman's paper (1976).

> the Congress declares it to be the policy of the United States, in order to establish equal educational opportunity for all children (A) to encourage the establishment and operation, where appropriate, of educational programs using bilingual educational practices, techniques, and methods, and (B) ... to provide financial assistance to ... educational agencies ... in order to ... develop and carry out such programs,... which are designed to meet the educational needs of such children; and of demonstrating effective ways of providing, for children of limited English-speaking ability, instruction designed to enable them, while using their native language, to achieve competence in the English language (Geffert et al. 1975:13).

The assumptions are clearly recognizable: (1) the lack of social and economic success on the part of these minority groups is due to a) "unequal opportunity" (cf. Bowles and Gintis) as manifest through different language, different culture, and different learning styles,[5] and b) to a lack of scholastic success as a group[6] because of poor English-speaking ability; (2) with the provision of English skills, merit and I.Q. will lead, through scholastic skills gained in a "meaningful education", to social and economic success.

The immediate objective of bilingual education programs is then given: to equalize opportunity for children from limited English-speaking families by compensatory training in English where such training can be theoretically interpreted as a balancing mechanism to maintain the equilibrium of society, for in this approach "intra-system conflict is usually viewed as pathological, as an indicator of systematic breakdown" (R.G. Paulston 1976:13). Larkin, writing from a structural-functional perspective, points out that in a technological society such as ours, "equilibrium is maintained by the educational institution" (1970:113), whose major function is seen as the socialization of youth. According to Larkin, the socialization process is two dimensional. The instrumental aspect is the provision of technical competence: education is to provide the students with salable skills (of which, for our purposes, English language proficiency can be seen as the major skill). The expressive

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5 Cf. the wording of the Supreme Court's Lau vs. Nichols opinion "There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education" (Geffert, 1975:8).

6 Note the Court's insistence on the group; they are not concerned with individual failure: "For me (Mr. Justice Blackmun), numbers are at the heart of this case, and my concurrence is to be understood accordingly" (Geffert, 1975:10).

aspect is a "normative orientation in harmony with the values of society" (p. 113), or in the terminology more frequently found in the literature on bilingual education, facilitating assimilation into the dominant, mainstream culture. But to the S/F theorists, the value transmission function of the schools serves a wider purpose than just assimilation, namely that of "pattern maintenance," in Parsons' terms:

> According to Parsons, provision for pattern maintenance is a functional prerequisite of all societies:
>
> > ...the social system...depends on the requisite minimum of 'support' from each of the other systems. It must, that is, have a sufficient proportion of its component actors adequately motivated to act in accordance with the requirements of its rolesystem, positively in abstention from too much disruptive, i.e. deviant, behavior (Parsons, 1959:27).
>
> The expressive aspect of the socialization process is socialization of youth to a social order by instilling values necessary for the continuation of the social system (Larkin 1970:113).

While this view of the function of schools is reminiscent of Bowles and Gintis' legitimation process, the two approaches differ profoundly in their attitude toward such a process. The S/F proponents see this process as highly functional in ensuring that the most qualified persons fill the most important positions, and they "contend that inequality is not only inevitable, but necessary and beneficial to all since individual survival is contingent on the survival and well-being of society" (R.G. Paulston 1976:13). Parsons no doubt would consider Bowles and Gintis' viewpoint as "too much disruptive." The latter would be likely to agree with Hill-Burnett that:

> The key to access to a position is not the competence of the performer but the answer to the question of who has authority to judge whether the performance meets the standards, and to the question of how the judge is linked to the other arrangements in the society for maintaining a given constellation of differentiated resources and power over resources (1976:37)

One is reminded of the debate in bilingual education over teacher training and competencies. The major issues, on the surface, seem to be language proficiency in the L_1 (mother tongue, here minority vernacular) and L_2 (target language, here English) and professional educational

training in order to meet State requirements for teacher certification. But the question of proficiency masks the real question which concerns ethnic group membership; is the teacher Anglo or member of the L_1 ethnic group? Bilingual education proponents typically claim that teachers should be members of the same cultural group as the students and tend to ignore the teachers' proficiency in English as an important qualification. Their position, whether theoretical or not, tends to be one of conflict orientation, frequently tending toward utopian ideology. ESL proponents, on the other hand, typically insist on discussing issues at the level of method and technique, a characteristic of the S/F approach. They see fluency in English and a thorough training in the techniques of ESL as the major requirement amongst the competencies of a teacher of limited English-speaking children. They tend to exemplify Larkin's points that 1) innovation is threatening as it temporarily upsets the equilibrium and 2) any pressure for change will be met by resistance from those office holders who have vested interests.

Access to teaching jobs in bilingual education programs becomes very much a question of "who has the authority to judge whether the performance meets the standard." The standards of course are determined by the perceived goals of bilingual education. The U.S. government and its legislators officially conceive of the goal of bilingual education as assimilation of minority group members through transitional bilingual education programs where the emphasis can be interpreted from the viewpoint of S/F theory as maintaining vertical equilibrium "by translation of societal needs and goals into institutional goals. In turn, the institutions must be organized to efficiently and effectively implement these goals and satisfy societal needs" (Larkin 1970:113).

Efficiently and effectively are indeed the key terms for the major concerns of the research on bilingual education from a S/F perspective. As an ERIC search will quickly demonstrate, there is a pervasive technocratic concern with methods, techniques, curriculum and teacher training, no doubt partially because these types of projects tend to get funded by the Office of Education. After a perusal of the literature on bilingual education as found in ERIC or in doctoral dissertations, one cannot avoid coming away with a vague feeling that the most important objectives of these programs are for the children to increase their standardized scores on tests in language arts, mathematics and self concept; to demonstrate that teaching in the mother tongue results in the more efficient learning of English.

While the research which R.G. Paulston discusses, whether of equilibrium or conflict theory orientation, is concerned primarily with social or educational change at the national level (Parsons' (1961) societal and institutional levels), the majority of research and writing on bilingual education, especially recent work in North America, tends to be at the programmatic-operational level. The research typical of the S/F approach usually treats the bilingual education programs as

the independent variable, as the causal factor which accounts for certain subsequent results, for certain behaviors in children. One problem with such research is that these studies carry in and of themselves virtually no generalizability to other programs, as Mackey (1972) and Macnamara (1972) are careful to point out. Nowhere is this problem seen more clearly than in a comparison of the S/P oriented research on the Title VII Bilingual Education programs in the United States with the research on the immersion programs in Canada. Many descriptions and comparisons of these programs exist (Andersson and Boyer, 1970; Cohen and Swain, 1976; John and Horner, 1971; C.B. Paulston, 1975a, 1976; Swain, 1972; Swain and Bruck, 1976; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975; etc.) and need not be repeated here. Basically, the Title VII programs are for lower class children from socially stigmatized ethnic minority groups; the immersion programs are typically attended by middle class children from the Anglo majority, a group in social and economic power.

On the surface, both sets of studies show great similarity in research designs: both sets treat instruction as the independent variable; both sets tend to recognize I.Q., age and sex as intervening variables and, when feasible, match or control for these variables. Presumably the researchers also recognize the importance of merit (personality factors such as industry, perseverence, motivation, etc.), but as a formal variable in research design, merit tends to be ignored, and indeed Swain (1976a) laments that the kind of psychometric data these studies collect masks individual achievements.[7] The major dependent variable or program outcome for both sets of studies is scholastic skills, primarily proficiency in the two languages (as measured by standardized tests in language arts) and in mathematics. Other additional dependent variables like cognitive development and self-concept can be found in many studies.

Because of their similarity of research design, of identically labelled variables in the same basic relationship, generalizations are frequently made from one set of studies to the other, or to be exact, from the Canadian studies to the U.S. children and to other minority group children as well. The Canadian immersion findings are often cited

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[7] One conclusion reached at the Center for Applied Linguistics' series of seminars on bilingual education was that classroom observation by informed participant-observers is a necessary counterpoint in research to psychometric data, see especially Hatch, 1976. See also Churchill, 1976.

as a rationale <u>against</u> bilingual education for minority group members. It is important therefore to examine how these studies differ, even though they share the same basic S/F perspective, in their initial motivation, in the selection of relevant assumptions and in long range goals. The fact that these issues are rarely made explicit or discussed in these studies, can be considered as an S/F characteristic to minimize, if not avoid, intra-system conflict, as an attempt to seek a balancing mechanism to maintain a "uniform state" through adaptive change.

Although both the U.S. and the Canadian studies are concerned with language proficiency in the L_1 and L_2, the interest in L_2 acquisition and proficiency stems from a widely disparate motivation. The U.S. studies (see e.g. C.B. Paulston, 1976, Appendix) attempt to demonstrate that children who are first taught to read in the L_1 will eventually read better in the L_2 than similar children in monolingual English programs and also that these children will achieve a higher proficiency in the L_2 through the medium of their mother tongue than do individual children who go directly into an L_2 curriculum ("submersion" programs in Lambert's terms; for a discussion of the difference between immersion and submersion programs, see Cohen and Swain, 1976). The Canadian studies, on the other hand, undertake to demonstrate that initial reading in the L_2 (i.e. initial literacy) will have no negative consequences on either later reading or language arts skills in the L_1; they also seek to demonstrate that the L_2 proficiency of the children in immersion programs is superior to that found in traditional second language programs.

Not surprisingly, different assumptions motivate the undertaking of the two sets of research studies. These assumptions are rarely spelled out explicitly as assumptions but are rather accepted axiomatically or tacitly taken for granted. We need therefore to examine these assumptions--and the long range goals -- of the two sets of studies in order to better be able to interpret and maybe even generalize from the research findings.

The major basic assumption which underlies the U.S. Title VII programs is that of "unequal opportunity" and the belief that bilingual education helps equalize such shortcomings of opportunity. Andersson and Boyer outline some long-range implications for society:

> ...so national expansion of bilingual schooling has certain implications for society as a whole. As suggestive of others, we mention the following: ...A concern by all Americans for the elimination of poverty, based on the realization that the educational improvement of the poor (which include many speakers of other languages who are presently handicapped in English) helps to raise the socioeconomic level of the population. A higher income level can in turn benefit education, setting an upward spiral (1970:144).

They continue by looking at the experience of foreign aid:

> Jacoby defines 'development' as 'a complex socio-political-economic process whereby a people of a country progress from a static traditional mode of life toward a modern dynamic society' (1969:5). The similarities between this complex problem and the educational problem with which we are concerned in this book are striking (Andersson and Boyer, 1970:145).

Such statements are the hallmark of the liberal structural-functional position. Poor people from traditional ways of life will progress (cf. the evolutionist position) to higher socioeconomic levels through educational improvement. These assumptions are echoed by the United States Commission on Civil Rights:

> Following is a discussion of how bilingual/bicultural education provides equal educational opportunity. Emphasis is placed on the most important elements in any educational program: fostering self concept and developing cognition, language expression, reading, and English skills (1975:30).

We have a Supreme Court ruling that equal educational opportunity implies partial education in the mother tongue. Similar to the unquestioned relationship between I.Q. and economic success which Bowles and Gintis discuss, I know of no research which investigates whether equal educational opportunity as manifest through bilingual education programs really leads to raised socio-economic status. It is a major assumption of bilingual education, but among structural-functional research it remains not only untested but also unquestioned -- it is a question outside the paradigm.

The second major assumption is the importance of the culture contact situation in the schools. The very definition of bilingual education acknowledges the importance of the mother tongue culture: "Bilingual education...includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue...a legitimate pride in both cultures." From this assumption follows the emphasis that the teacher be from the same ethnic background as the children: "One way bilingual/bicultural education further enhances self concept is by utilizing language minority teachers to reinforce the child's background and culture" (U.S. Office of Civil Rights, 1975:39). Consequently, the ethnic identity of the teacher is occasionally a sub-variable under the independent variable instruction.

From this assumption as well follows the interest in what is commonly called cross-cultural communication (although the focus often is on miscommunication). Other closely similar areas of interest and investigation include communicative competence (Humes, 1972; C.B. Paulston, 1974), socio-linguistic competence (Ervin-Tripp, 1973:293), interactional competence (Mehan, 1972) and social interaction (Grimshaw, 1973), all of which have in common the focus on the social meaning of language, on the social rules of language use, "the systematic sets of social interactional rules" in Grimshaw's terms (1973:109). Although most research on symbolic interaction (Goffman, 1959, 1961, Garfinkel, 1967; Cicourel, 1970) in bilingual programs is written from a conflict perspective, there is found in many S/P studies a concern, though rarely studied systematically, that teachers may misinterpret their minority students' behavior because of contrasting interactional rules as in, e.g. the use of space, eye contact, voice level, etc. and in permitted speech acts, like types of questions. There is also the concern voiced that Anglo teachers may allow any kind of aberrant behavior from minority students out of misplaced cultural tolerance because they don't know what the acceptable norms are.

Future research is likely to give increased importance to the area of communicative competence because it not only is of interest to those whose primary concern lies in the interaction between members of different cultures, but also holds significance for theoretical issues in language acquisition. A current assumption about L_2 acquisition is that language must be used for purposes of communication if it is to be well learnt, and a number of classroom techniques have been worked out which incorporate social interactional rules of the L_2 into classroom practices (Appelgate, 1975; Holmes and Brown, 1976: Jacobson, 1976; C.B. Paulston and Bruder, 1976; White, 1974).

One elusive assumption of U.S. bilingual programs is that one method will eventually be found to be more effective than others, and studies occasionally incorporate <u>method</u> as well as <u>medium</u> under the independent variable <u>instruction</u>. We know surprisingly little about methods of language teaching in elementary bilingual programs compared with what we know about methods of teaching adults. Because of the S/P definition of the problem as one of limited English speaking ability and of the perceived treatment as one of instruction, there is a pervasive tendency to look for solutions to problems <u>within</u> the programs, and future research is most likely to investigate methods of bilingual instruction more carefully than in the past, where medium of instruction has been the major variable of <u>instruction</u>.

Two less influential assumptions remain. S/P research tends to take for granted that ability and merit influence the attainment of

scholastic skills and that once equal opportunity has been provided for by bilingual education, such ability will result in success in school. Research designs therefore tend to neutralize such causal influence on the findings by treating I.Q., age, and sex (sex is subsumed under merit as girls are perceived to be stronger motivated, harder working, etc.) as intervening variables and where possible control for such influence by matching groups or by statistical techniques.

The other assumption holds that there is some relationship between language and cognition. Language is believed to be the "vehicle for complex thinking" (Finocchiaro and King, 1966) and the necessity to use the language the children know best then becomes axiomatic (U.S. Office of Civil Rights, 1975:44). But the section on "Cognitive and Language Development" (pp. 41-47) is characteristic of other writings on this topic in bilingual education; it contains not one single reference to empirical work on cognitive development of children in bilingual programs. This topic remains poorly explored in these studies; the Scandinavian studies, the majority of which are in the S/F approach, are in sharp contrast with their exploration of the possible consequences of semilingualism on congitive development (Loman, 1974; Skutnabb-Kangas and P. Toukomaa, 1976). My personal suspicion is that the question of language and cognition is perceived by many researchers as being outside the paradigm. The earlier studies on bilingualism and I.Q. (Darcy, 1953) still rankle, and the topic of language and cognition is frequently dismissed with vague comments on the invalidity of the instruments used in such research.

To sum up, the S/F research on bilingual education in the United States is characterized by two major assumptions, "unequal opportunity" and "cultural diversity" and I have attempted to show how these assumptions contribute to give structure to the research studies. Two additional factors which influence the research are 1) the majority of researchers on bilingual education are either educators or social scientists drawing primarily on linguistics, anthropology, and sociology, and 2) the perceived long range goals are those of harmonious integration[8] into the larger society by equalizing opportunity.

The Canadian immersion programs (see Swain, 1976c, for a bibliography) are very different from the Title VII programs. The long-range goals of the immersion programs especially outside of Quebec, as perceived by most parents, are maintenance of the family SES quo, and, because of Canadian legislation vis à vis language, they see bilingualism in English/French as a necessary condition for their children to compete

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[8] By integration, I mean either economic incorporation or cultural assimilation, in Schermerhorn's terms (1970).

successfully in the job market. There were other motivations as well:

> Some members of the group had generally more "instrumental" reasons for wishing their children to be bilingual. They wished the continuing progress and success of their children in a province progressively becoming dominated by the French fact. Others considered bilingualism a personal asset for cultural, intellectual, and social reasons -- the so-called "integrative" motivation. All were concerned with French-English relations in the province, at a time when these were not yet making headlines (Melikoff, 1972:221).

The Canadian researchers, the majority of whom are psychologists, have tended to slight social factors in their research and to minimize the potential conflict situation between the English and French speaking groups, but they do acknowledge that "there is no doubt that the language policy at both federal and provincial levels of Canadian government is helping to provide incentive for English-Canadian parents to enroll their children in French immersion programs" (Cohen and Swain, 1976:49).

From the difference in long range goals follows difference in the underlying assumptions. Since the children in the immersion programs come from the socially and economically dominant Anglo group (Lieberson, 1970), who have managed perfectly well in the English medium schools, all notions of "unequal opportunity" become simply irrelevant.

Similarly, the notions of "cultural diversity" are irrelevant. No one is concerned that Anglo ideo-cultural behavior might become stigmatized and held against the children by their teachers. The Anglo parents, children, and researchers take their own culture for granted, and in the Canadian literature there is no counterpart to the writings on ethnic minority groups' culture and behavior in the schools which we find in the United States (Pialorsi, 1974; Turner, 1973). Many programs are housed in Anglo schools and in fact, the children in class function in French with the communicative competence of English; i.e., they are not expected to give up their social interactional ways of speaking, their cultural ways of being:

> As a trivial example in a class I visited, in answer to a question from the teacher the children

> waved their hands and shouted je sais, je sais (in direct translation from English).[9] A French Canadian child would have said moi, moi as Guy Dumas pointed out to me later. The children were not corrected (C.B. Paulston, 1976:20).

Nor is there any emphasis on the target culture to compare with that which we find in the United States. The definition of bilingual education in Swain (1972) contrasts clearly with the American in that there is no mention of culture:

> Bilingual education can be defined as schooling provided fully or partly in a second language with the object in view of making students proficient in the second language while, at the same time, maintaining and developing their proficiency in the first language and fully guaranteeing their education development (From the "Introduction" by H.H. Stern, p. 1).

Nowhere is this perceived irrelevance of "cultural diversity" seen more clearly than in the teacher variable. As we saw in the Title VII studies, the ethnic membership of the teacher is occasionally included as a variable under instruction; I don't know of a single Canadian study of the immersion programs that investigates teacher ethnicity as a variable. One reason is that there is no concern about the teacher's cultural background as long as he is a fluent speaker of French; the majority of classrooms I have visited have had non-native Canadians as teachers: Belgian, Moroccan, French, etc. rather than French Canadians. In fact, the speech of French Canadians is occasionally criticized; to illustrate, after a classroom visit, I recall my colleague disdaining the use of the calque attaque de coeur instead of the "proper" crise cardiaque and worse, the use of masculine adjectival -al suffix in the plural. Clearly, the program goal is linguistic competence in standard French, not communicative competence in Canadian French.

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[9] In the sense of "Please call on me."

The Anglo Canadians do expect the children to show enhanced cultural tolerance-understanding for the Franco-Canadians through the increasing knowledge of French with an emphasis on the harmonious balanced whole.[11] The only one to question the relationship between French proficiency and French culture-tolerance is the usual bête noire Macnamara (whose work I make no attempt to typify):

> And the average English Canadian's understanding of French Canadians will have to become a lot deeper and less bigoted than it is at present...It is unlikely that the mutual trust, sympathy, understanding, and friendship of the two linguistic groups will be achieved by schools alone...This probably dooms the enterprise to failure. It may even be more sinister. It may tend to exploit the weakest sector of society, the sector least likely to resist (1972:8).

This quotation from Macnamara serves as a clear contrast; his assumptions are in profound opposition to those characteristic of the S/F approach.

The formal research primarily seeks to tap the implications which follow from the major assumption underlying the immersion programs: a second language can be learned fluently in the school only if it is used as a medium of instruction, as a means to an end, rather than studied as a subject, as an end in itself. Consequently, the children are taught from the beginning in the L_2 in language art skills programs similar to those for native speaking children. The extensive testing, primarily by

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[11] Actually, the St. Lambert children do not demonstrate this trend: "...this difference...(views of French Canadians were generally more favorable amongst the experimental group than amongst English controls) did not reach reliably significant proportions" (Bruck and Swain, 1976:491). After seven years, they can only talk about trends in desired directions. Genesee (1974) found no difference between the immersion group and the control group.

means of standardized tests, which is basically what the immersion research consists of, was undertaken to assure parents (the programs are voluntary) and administrators that the immersion programs work.

> There is no question at all about the efficacy of the Canadian immersion programs, and if anything, the amazing dexterity and charm of the children as they negotiate in French get lost in the published data, (C.B. Paulston 1976:20; see also e.g. the St. Lambert study on the proto-type program, Lambert and Tucker, 1972).

We see then that although the U.S. and Canadian research studies are similar in that they see instruction, especially medium of, as the independent variable and scholastic skills as the dependent variable; they vary in the order of introducing medium of instruction so that the Canadian programs reverse the order of the American $L_1 \rightarrow L_2$ to $L_2 \rightarrow L_1$. The Canadian programs eschew the ESL approach, i.e. here FSL (French as a Second Language) techniques, in favor of basic langauge arts training[12]

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[12] For the record, it should be pointed out that the perception of this dichotomy (Tucker, 1967; Greenfield, 1976) is a considerable simplification of fact. It would be more correct to say that the immersion programs do not incorporate the ESL techniques that we associate with the audio-lingual method, such as oral drills. But the early classes abound with ESL techniques from the direct method as well as from a cognitive code approach. To illustrate, in one third grade, a boy came up to me and said in perfect French: "Madame, could you tell me if this (pointing to a word) is a verb?" His task was a controlled composition in which he had to rewrite all the present tense verbs in the imperfect. He had just gotten stung on souvent and wanted to make sure this time. The point is of course that controlled composition, where the teaching point is a specific grammar pattern, is an ESL technique par excellence.

The language teaching specialist in me cannot but wish for some systematic research on this aspect of the immersion programs. None exists, and these comments are based on class visits, discussions with teachers, administrators and researchers and a familiarity with the literature.

The topic is urgent in the United States where I suspect many programs flounder, between audio-lingual techniques for adults used on children and the "concurrent translation" approach which is likely to be directly detrimental to learning (Legarreta-Marcaida, 1975). It is my considered opinion that the American programs stand to benefit substantially from the Canadian experience, just at the level of

and consider cultural diversity as an irrelevant variable; consequently neither method nor teacher appears as a design variable in the Canadian studies.

We also find the familiar assumptions of a relationship between language and 1) cognition and 2) I.Q., age, and sex. In my opinion, the Canadian studies are much more interesting than the American in their work on language and cognition, presumably, I should imagine, because the researchers are not unduly worried about adverse results. Cummins' work (1976) is especially worth citing. He speculates that the lower level of verbal intelligence by the bilingual subjects in the earlier studies (Darcy, 1953) "may be a reflection of the fact that they are likely to have had less than native-like competence in both their languages" (p.36). Cummins hypothesized that "the level of linguistic competence may mediate the effects of his bilingual learning experience on cognitive growth' (p. 37).

In other words, the bilingual's level of competence in L_1 and L_2 is posited:

> as an intervening variable in the causal chain between cognitive development and more fundamental social, attitudinal, educational and cognitive factors. Specifically, there may be a threshold level of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order to avoid cognitive deficits and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to affect his cognitive functioning. Bilingualism and unilingualism can both be thought of as instruments which individuals use to operate upon their environments. Because of its greater complexity, the bilingual instrument is more difficult to master, but once mastered has greater potential than the unilingual instrument for promoting cognitive growth (p. 37).

ESL techniques. Therefore, it would be a great pity if no one investigated the immersion programs from this angle because they were generally considered not to incorporate any E/FSL techniques. They certainly do, and we need to know a lot more about them.

This direction of research looks exceedingly promising and may eventually account for a number of contradictory research findings.

To sum up. Although the U.S. and Canadian research studies frequently identify the same variables from the range of phenomena within bilingual education and see them in similar relationships, these studies illustrate the point that underlying assumptions so strongly influence the research design, the questions, and the findings that one cannot at this stage of the research extrapolate from the results of one set of studies to the other.

Although I don't deny that we need case studies, I have my reservations. I do agree with Merrill Swain on the value of psychometric evaluation research which looks at the bilingual education programs as the independent variable (1976a:1):

> It can provide essential feedback to the programs themselves often resulting in program change. Furthermore, such evaluations have provided individuals considering the implementation of a bilingual program with information about the results of a variety of options, one of which may be applicable to their community given their own particular needs and characteristics. And finally, although a single evaluation carries little generalizability in and out of itself, "such case studies are necessary if we are to begin to develop a theory of bilingual education which will enable us to generalize the evidence from the individual studies and to account for their often contradictory findings". (Paulston, 1975b:5).

My reservations as far as all these studies go are very simple and probably fairly characteristic of the conflict orientation:

> ...unless we try in some way to account for the socio-historical, cultural, and economic-political factors which lead to certain forms of bilingual education, we will never understand the consequences of that education. In other words, we need research which looks at bilingual education as the intervening[13]

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13 Wallace Lambert points out that I use the term "intervening variable differently from how it is used by psychologists, and he is right. To psychologists, "Intervening variable is a term invented to account

> or dependent variable, and we don't have it.
>
> It is simply that medium of instruction in school programs is an intervening variable rather than the causal variable as it is always treated in all these studies on reading achievement by children from ethnic groups and languages in contact. By merely examining intervening variables, with no (or little) attempt to identify independent variables, one cannot hope to achieve any similarity and consensus in the research findings, as indeed we don't have (C.B. Paulston, 1975b:370).

However interesting I find the evaluation research on the bilingual education programs, I find -- and that is my particular bias -- that there are other questions that I consider more important (see Appendix B).

C. Systems Theory

> Bushnell and Rappaport's (1971) work, Planned Change in Education: A Systems Approach, offers an illustrative summary of assumptions and "constructive alternatives" underlying the claims of systems theory to hold promise for a "more rapid adaptation of our public schools to the demands of a modern society."
>
> From the systems perspective, the need for reform arises with evidence of system "malfunctioning." Using the

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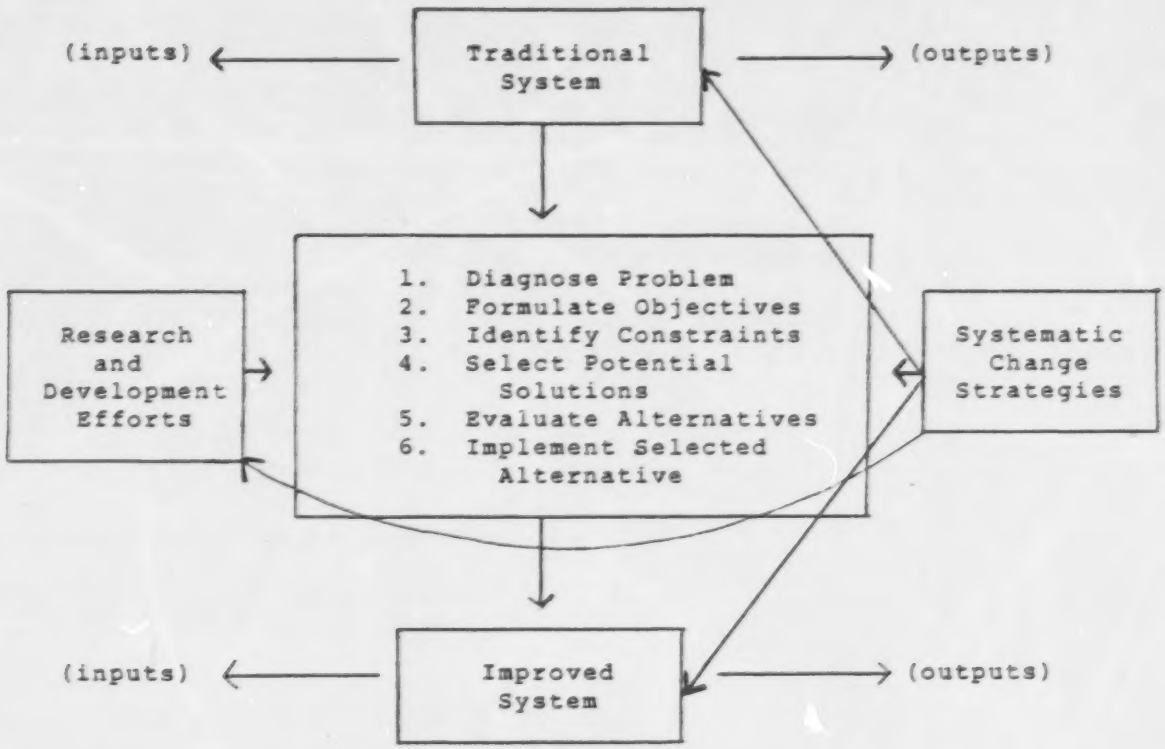
for internal and directly unobservable psychological processes that in turn account for behavior. ...An intervening variable is an "in-the-head" variable. It cannot be seen, heard, or felt. It is inferred from behavior" (Kerlinger, 1973). Social scientists tend not to use the term (Pelto, 1970; Sjöberg and Nett, 1968) but Schermerhorn (1970) does in the sense of "contextual variables that modify the effects of independent variables" (p. 15) and which help account for the conditions for and the modes of integration of ethnic groups; intervening variables in this sense are perfectly observable variables, like cultural congruence. I use the term in this latter meaning.

example of a stockmarket broker, Bushnell and Rappaport present an "information flow model" to provide the structure or network of communication flow between all participants in the school system from students to taxpayers" (R.G. Paulston, 1976:16):

A RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR PLANNED EDUCATIONAL CHANGE



Source: Bushnell (1971), p. 10

The problem of educational change from this perspective is essentially one of "rationalizing existing education systems through the introduction of innovations that respond both to new social needs and to the need for greater efficiency in ongoing functions" (R.G. Paulston, 1976:17), an apt definition of bilingual education from the viewpoint I have so far discussed it. The difficulty with the systems approach is that it sacrifices reality to "scientific rigor." There is rarely any attempt to identify and operationalize contextual variables like power relationships, ethnic culture conflicts, disagreements over values and the like, "which might question the conservative notions of equilibrium and consensus inherent in the functionalist-cum-systems perspective" (R.G. Paulston, 1976:20).

The literature on bilingual education from a system perspective is remarkably sparse. Tucker (1976a) may occasionally sound like a system analyst, but that is probably just a reflection of the primarily S/F approach to immersion research in Canada. An ERIC search turned up one single hit, Prochnow (1973). In the abstract we are told that the report follows the suggested U.S. Office of Education scope:

> 1) Introduction and general comments concerning the quality and significance of the final evaluation report; 2) detailed critique of the product and process evaluation conducted for operation and management, based on an assessment of the instruments used, data collection procedures, data analysis techniques, and data analysis presentation; 3) findings and observations as a result of on-site visits and examinations of evaluative data with a summary of consistencies and discrepancies; 4) recommendations for evaluation design revision; and 5) the need for program modification.

Friedman's criticism of an equilibrium model in economics seems equally appropriate to bilingual education:

> ...the model may be useful for analysis, but it ceases to be pertinent when it is converted into a normative rule for planning. To be meaningful, every social norm must be brought into concrete relation with the historical conditions of collective life. That static equilibrium mode, valid only within a parameter of carefully stated and artificial assumptions, is wholly inappropriate by this standard (1963:72).

Systems theory has not in the past been a viable approach in research in bilingual education. This section could easily have been omitted except that I wanted to point out the shortcomings of this approach so that also in the future it remain not salient in our concerns.

D. "Distressed Liberal" Genre

R.G. Paulston closes the section on the equilibrium paradigm with a discussion of what he terms "the largely atheoretical 'distressed liberal' genre which, while essentially S/F in world view, calls for basic educational reform as a strategy for meliorative social reform" (1976:24).

This type of work avoids a discussion of the role of power and conflict, sees inequities and inefficiencies of the schools as the result of bureaucratic, teacher or parent mindlessness or ignorance but not as a consequence of social-class self-interest leading to structured inequality.

> U.S. government agencies, foundations, and financial institutions, intervening both at home and abroad in the interests of poor people, continue to share the basic assumption of this genre, i.e. that educational reform will eventually lead to some enlightened, relatively conflict-free way to more equitable, democratic social relations and conditions (R.G. Paulston, 1976:24).

The writings on bilingual education are amply represented in this category and we have all probably at one time or another fallen into this camp. I have discussed (1971) some of the concerns which can lead a linguist into this sort of a position. Because of the basically atheoretical nature of this genre of writing, I think we should realize that it tends to weaken the research base and to trivialize scholarly support of bilingual education.

The Equilibrium Paradigm: Conclusion

Bilingual education in the United States is necessarily closely tied to concerns of ethnic groups. We have lately experienced a resurgence of ethnic awareness which brings into question the goal of complete assimilation for these ethnic groups. Elazar and Friedman (1976) discuss this new development of ethnic affirmation quite perceptively. They point out that ethnic identity has often been seen as a problem that must somehow be overcome. Social scientists have often considered religious and ethnic groups as "vestiges of a primitive past that are destined to disappear" (1976:4), but recent "writers on the 'new pluralism' have argued that racial, religious, and ethnic groups <u>are</u> a basic component of our social structure" (p. 5) who affect our institutions and are at times more powerful than economic forces in their influence.

What Elazar and Friedman are discussing in their study of ethnic groups, is in fact a paradigm shift from equilibrium theory to a conflict perspective and some recent work on bilingual education reflects that shift. As the S/F framework Larkin (1970) discusses would predict, there is considerable tension accompanying the implementation of bilingual education. However, equilibrium theory is not designed to deal with such conflict.

> With its limited ability to include, let alone explain, conflict in the calculus of change efforts, the equilibrium paradigm must now seriously compete with alternative views of social and educational reform that see change and instability as constant and unavoidable characteristics of all social organisms and relations (R.G. Paulston, 1976:24).

THE CONFLICT PARADIGM

> Studies of socio-economic, cultural, and educational change using variants of conflict theory have increased significantly during the past decade or so (Coser, 1956; Dahrendorf, 1959; Zeitlin, 1968; Allardt, 1971; Carnoy, 1974; Collins, 1971; Smelser, 1971; Boudon, 1974; Dreir, 1975). This work may be divided into three types of conflict "theory" -- i.e., (1) Marxist and group conflict explanations of socio-economic conflict, (2) cultural revival or revitalization explanations of value conflict, and (3) the somewhat mixed bag of anarchist and anarchist-utopian explanations of institutional conflict and constraints on human development (R.G. Paulston, 1976:26).

A. Group Conflict Theory

> ...all variants of conflict theory reject the evolutionists' and functionists' image of society as a system of benign self-regulating mechanisms where maintenance of social equilibrium and harmony is "functional" and disruption of harmony is "dysfunctional"...Formal education is here viewed as a part of the ideological structure which a ruling class controls to maintain its dominance over the masses, and because formal education is dependent on the dominant economic and political institutions, it cannot be a primary agent of social transformation...it can only follow changes in the imperatives of the economic and political social order (Gramsci, 1957; Zachariah, 1975) (R.G. Paulston, 1976:26).

Studies of bilingual education using aspects or variants of conflict theory have also increased during the last few years. The definition of the problem from a conflict perspective is no longer unequal opportunity *per se* but rather one of structured inequity, of "persistence of poverty, intractability of inequality of incomes and inequality of economic and social opportunity" (Bowles et al., 1976:263). Unequal opportunity, the existence of which is most certainly not denied, tends to be seen as a

result of a condition of inequity rather than as a cause of school failure.

Consequently, in conflict-oriented studies the solutions to the educational problems of bilingual programs are rarely sought in terms of technocratic efficiency; in fact, they are rarely sought within the programs themselves but rather are seen to lie outside the programs:

> I think we must admit that within the entire social situation, different language teaching methods account for very little of achieved language proficiency (C.B. Paulston, 1975a:26).

It is in this context that we need to interpret the significance of Fishman's discussion of "social dimensions": "very few (empirical studies) have focused upon particular social parameters and explored their relevance to bilingual education across schools and/or across communities" (Fishman, 1976:22b). One reason that this is so is that the majority of research on bilingual education has followed the S/F approach, and if one assumes that improved efficiency of school programs will solve problems of scholastic achievement, then one looks to instruction rather than to social factors for elucidation. On the other hand, if one assumes that formal education cannot cope with the consequences of social injustice or social inequity of which bilingual education in this country is one consequence, then Fishman's statement, (minus the hedge "it would appear") "that societal factors are not merely 'interesting' or 'enlightening' for an understanding of bilingual education but that they represent powerful forces governing the success and failure of such programs", (p. 25) points the major direction for research on bilingual education.

In this connection, a comment on Fishman's discussion of typologies of bilingual education is in order. Basically the typologies fall into two categories: 1) those which are "school oriented" and classify by program and program outcomes (Spolsky, 1974a; Fishman and Lovas, 1970; Fishman, 1976) and 2) those which are "context" oriented and classify by the social factors which contribute to the establishment of bilingual programs (Gaarder, n.d.; Schermerhorn, 1970; C.B. Paulston, 1975b; - Spolsky, 1974b belongs here too although not discussed by Fishman); Mackey (1970) combines the two.

From a conflict perspective, it is the social factors which are seen to influence the "success or failure" of bilingual education programs, and hence it is clearly the derivation of "context" oriented typologies which hold the higher priority since they are more likely to help facilitate the identification of salient "social dimensions". Also, when revised and improved, "context" oriented typologies can be seen then to

function at a higher level in the ladder of theoretical abstraction (Pelto, 1970) than do school oriented typologies, and this higher level of abstraction accounts for the key weakness of the former: the difficulty in operationalizing key concepts.

The long range goals of the programs, seen from a conflict perspective, follow the definition of the problem: to maximize equity in the distribution of wealth, goods and services; hence the emphasis is no longer on efficiency but on equity. This necessarily leads to disagreement over the evaluation of bilingual education programs. In the following discussion of such evaluations, cited in parts from an earlier paper (1976),[14] I make no attempt at impartiality between the two paradigms; the discussion is clearly written from a conflict perspective (although I never thought of it in those terms at the time) and illustrative of the concerns, in this approach, with equity rather than efficiency.

> Like Tucker (who had complained about a lack of consensus over the goals of bilingual education), the National Institute of Education report stresses the need for aims and objectives to be 'clarified and made explicit so that progress toward the goal can be evaluated' ([N.I.E.], 1975:8). I don't share their concern. It is a (functionalist) technician's mistake to want consensual goals in order to assess the efficacy of bilingual education programs. The parents want access to goods and services for children with the least degree of damage to their sense of self, and they will vary in their interpretation of the best means to achieve that goal.
>
> It makes a lot more sense (than to use standardized tests on school achievement) to assess the bilingual education programs in the United States in terms of employment figures upon leaving school, figures on drug addiction and alcoholism, suicide rates and personality disorders, i.e. indicators which measure the social pathology which accompanies social injustice rather than in terms of language skills. Many of us see the

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14 Permission to quote, from the Center for Applied Linguistics, is gratefully acknowledged.

> bilingual education programs as an attempt to cope with such social injustice rather than as an attempt at efficient language teaching -- although the programs are that too. One of the best indicators with which to evaluate bilingual-education programs are the drop-out rates. The drop-out rate for American Indians in Chicago public schools is 95%; in the bilingual-bicultural Little Big Horn High School in Chicago the drop-out rate in 1976 was 11% (New York Times, 1976:49), and I find that figure a much more meaningful indicator for evaluation of the bilingual program than any psychometric assessment of students' language skills (Paulston, 1976:pp. 12-18).

The major assumption which underlies most work written within the conflict paradigm is that bilingual education programs can only be understood in terms of the relationship between the various interest groups and that relationship is seen as basically one of a power conflict:

> The probability is overwhelming that when two groups with different cultural histories establish contacts that are regular rather than occasional or intermittent, one of the two groups will typically assume dominance over the other" (Schermerhorn, 1970:68).

Lenski's metaphor is suggestive of the difference in world view between the two paradigms: "where functionalists see human societies as social systems, conflict theorists see them as stages on which struggles for power and privilege take place" (1966:17). This viewpoint is most clearly seen in the militant/utopian writings on bilingualism and bilingual education, as in this editorial from Defensa:

> En otras palabras, los québécois se han dado cuenta por fin de que si no ponen un ¡hasta acá! acabarán siendo ciudadanos de tercera clase en su propio país.
>
> Dicho de otra modo, el bilingüismo collectivo, impuesto por la dura necesidad de comer, es como una herida que no se cierra, y sangra y no deja de sangrar.

> Ya lo hemos dicho en otra ocasión: el dinero habla más fuerte que la sintaxis. (Defensa, 1976:3).[15]

Clearly, the research designs on bilingual education from this perspective are not likely to consider instruction as the independent variable nor to consider issues of language as the most salient aspects of bilingual education. There is as yet no generally accepted framework of research[16] on bilingual education from a group conflict perspective, but Schermerhorn (1970) and my own paper (1975b), drawing on Schermerhorn, are increasingly being cited in the literature on bilingualism and bilingual education (Churchill, 1976; Cummins, 1976; Greenfield, 1976, Skutnabb-Kangas, 1976; Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976). Since Schermerhorn is the most carefully considered design for research on ethnic relations,[17] I would like to briefly review it here, focusing on the designation of variables and their relationship.

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15 "In other words, the québécois have finally realized that if they don't say 'That's enough' they will end up as third class citizens in their own country. Put in another way, group bilingualism, imposed by the harsh necessity to eat, is like a wound which will not close and bleeds and will not stop bleeding. As we have said before: money speaks louder than syntax." (My translation.)

16 Fishman's comment that the typologies are only "conceptually provocative" is as good a way as any to express that point.

17 Fishman makes the point that "unlike Spolsky and Paulston, Gaarder recognizes that bilingual education does not inevitably need to be in an inter-ethnic context" (1976:21). Gaarder carefully distinguishes between elite and group bilingualism, and the intra-group bilingualism he cites is typically elite. It is understandable that those writing from a group conflict perspective are not particularly interested in intra-group elite bilingualism, and I myself make the point carefully to exclude upper class bilingual education from my discussions, but this does not mean that I don't recognize its existence, as Spolsky of course does too. We are both, after all, representative of elite bilingualism which does not result from an inter-ethnic context.

To Schermerhorn, the central question in comparative research in ethnic relations is "what are the conditions that foster or prevent the integration of ethnic groups into their environing societies?" By integration, he does not necessarily mean assimilation but rather an "active and coordinated compliance with the ongoing activities and objectives of the dominant group in that society" (1970:14); integration can include either assimilation/incorporation on the one hand or cultural pluralism on the other as long as the dominant and subordinate groups agree on the collective goals for the latter.

Schermerhorn sees three major causal factors in determining the nature of the relationship between ethnic groups and the process of integration. He posits as independent variables 1) the origin of the contact situation between "the subordinate ethnics and dominant groups, such as annexation, migration, and colonization," 2) "the degree of enclosure (institutional separation or segmentation) of the subordinate group or groups from the society-wide network of institutions and association," and 3) "the degree of control exercised by dominant groups over access to scarce resources by subordinate groups in a given society" (1970:15).

Intervening or contextual variables which will modify the effects of the independent variables are: 1) whether the dominant and subordinate groups agree on the goals for the latter, 2) whether the groups share common cultural and structural features, and 3) forms of institutional dominance, i.e. polity dominating economy or vice versa. "The dependent variables to be explained are the interweaving patterns of integration and conflict;" the first two deal with the relationship between groups and are correlative, the third operationalizes this relation: 1) "differential participation rates of subordinates in institutional and associational life (including rates of vertical mobility) as compared with rates for the dominant groups;" this is clearly the variable under which the institution of formal schooling and bilingual education programs are subsumed; 2) "the extent of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of both subordinate and dominant group members with the differential patterns of participation as they see them, together with accompanying ideologies and cultural values;" this is the variable which subsumes the attitudes and reactions of all those involved in bilingual education: students, parents, community leaders, administrators, government officials, linguists and other researchers, etc. The discussions and controversy about transitional or maintenance bilingual programs would fall under this variable where the type of program is seen as a consequence of the other factors just outlined, not as a factor determining program outcomes; and 3) "overt or covert behavior patterns of subordinates and dominants indicative of conflict and/or harmonious relations; assessment in terms of continued integration" (1970:15-16).

How these concepts are to be operationalized is far from clear, and the major contribution of Schermerhorn's framework to research in bilingual education is to indicate the direction of research, to make clear the futility of continued research which ignores the social and historical factors which lead to the establishment of bilingual education. At this time, the majority of work within the conflict paradigm considers bilingual education programs as the dependent variable; presumably we need to work out a framework which will allow us to consider bilingual education as an intervening variable so the dependent variables to be explained can become both scholastic achievement and social integration. It remains to be demonstrated that there is no relationship between the latter two variables in bilingual education; there may well be.

Integration, i.e. assimilation or cultural pluralism, as a dependent variable can be operationalized in terms of language maintenance and language shift. Kjolseth's early work[18] on Title VII bilingual education programs, written from a group conflict perspective, considered "the social consequences of particular bilingual education strategies upon the changing patterns of community language and use" (1972:116). Kjolseth echoes Gaarder's concern that the bilingual programs (because they are more efficient for a number of reasons in teaching the children English) may be a one way bridge to English and complete language shift, although he looks favorably on bilingualism and cultural pluralism in contrast to Gaarder:

> Jactarse de ser un país bilingüe en estas condiciones es como vanagloriarse de ser tuberculoso. Y si no digo canceroso es porque, según dicen, el cáncer no tiene curación y la tuberculosis sí la tiene (Gaarder, 1975:7).[19]

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18 written in 1970.

19 "To boast about being a bilingual country under these conditions is like taking pride in having tuberculosis. And if I don't say cancer it is because as they say, cancer doesn't have a cure but tuberculosis does." (My translation.)

The tuberculosis-cure for group bilingualism, from Gaarder's view, is not to learn the dominant language, not to learn English. It is an extreme and utopian position, but nevertheless it is against this background of bilingual education and language shift that the controversy regarding transitional vs. maintenance programs is best interpreted.

At a conference, as reported in Wassaja: A National Newspaper of Indian America, one participant (Morris) raised the issues of whether Title VII programs should

> provide a transitional bilingual program model or a maintenance bilingual program.
>
> The maintenance program provides assistance to students, with an underlying premise that a child's native language and culture is a resource that needs to be capitalized upon so as to provide the maximun opportunity for students to develop their full potential, said Morris.
>
> Finally, Morris criticized the Title VII program, saying its regulations call for 'transitional bilingual program models which function on the premise of remedial programs for bilingual, non-and-limited English speaking students alone' (1977:15).

The proponents of maintenance programs favor cultural pluralism and ethnic diversity and tend to see the world in terms of conflict and competition between interest groups. Recent development has seen mobilization along ethnic boundaries as one strategy in competition for rewards (Elazar and Friedman, 1976), and maintenance of the ethnic language becomes a very visible aspect of such mobilization. Language shift remains a phenomenon which is poorly understood (Fishman, 1966; Lieberson et al,. 1975), and the relationship between bilingual education and language maintenance and shift is no better understood today than when Kjolseth pointed out in 1970 "that there is not a single study planned to determine program effects upon community diglossia" (1972:117). Fishman (1976:21) is right in pointing out the seriousness of Gaarder's argument about the consequences of bilingual education for marked populations; we especially need to investigate the social factors which influence bilingual programs in contributing to language maintenance and shift. As a matter of fact, we don't even know whether bilingual education influences language maintenance or shift in any significant way.[20]

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20 My guess is that at most, bilingual programs are intervening variables in a situation of language maintenance or shift. It is not clear to me whether Kjolseth sees them as independent or intervening variables.

An important question in studies written from a conflict perspective is cui bono?, 'who stands to gain?' (Gramsci, 1957), where "gain" can be operationalized as an indicator of which group benefits in the power struggle. The literature on bilingual education is noticeable for the almost complete absence of such questions. The pious assumption is of course that the children are the ones who stand to gain, with indicators like standardized test scores on school achievement and self-concept. I have discussed other indicators like suicide rates and school attendance figures.

Other obvious indicators are budget allocations and salary schedules. The only studies I know which consider the issue of salaries in bilingual education are Spolsky's: "(the economic) impact on a local poor community cannot be underestimated" (1974:57).

> In the Navajo situation, the most important outcome of bilingual education is probably related to changes in the economic and political situation. At the moment, the 53,000 Navajo students in school, 90% of whom speak Navajo, are taught by 2600 teachers, only 100 of whom speak Navajo. A decision to establish bilingual education, even a transitional variety for the first three grades, sets up a need for a thousand Navajo speaking teachers. Whatever effects this may have on the educational or linguistic situation, it is clear that it immediately provides jobs within the community for a sizeable group of people. A thousand well-paying jobs on the reservation for Navajos would lead to a greater income not just for the teachers themselves but for the community as a whole and would immediately establish within the community a well-paid middle class whose potential influence on political development of the Navajo Nation is obvious. Whatever may then be the expressed goals of a bilingual education program, it is probable that its major effect will be in this area (1974a:23-24).

It is against this background that the controversy and discussions about ESL programs vs. BE programs is best understood, and the attempts to carry out those discussions at a programmatic level of language teaching methodology (see the 1976 issues of The TESOL Quarterly and

The Linguistic Reporter) only confuse the basic issue[21] which is one of competition for scarce jobs:

> The threat of bilingual education is thus a direct economic one to the present teachers and administrators. However much they may sympathize with a bilingual education program, and however they may agree on an intellectual level with its logic and its goals, they cannot for long remain unaware that their own jobs are at stake. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that bilingual programs often face opposition from teachers and administrators (Spolsky, 1974b: 54).

Hill-Burnett's comment that the key to access to a position lies with "the answer to the question of who has the authority to judge whether the performance meets the standards" then becomes of crucial interest since it is a given that all groups are self-seeking and define "performance" in terms of furthering their own interests. There is no research on "who has the authority" in bilingual education, on the ideology and ethnic identification[22] of administrators who control access to positions. It would seem that who holds control over such "authority" will have important implications in the definitions of goals, implementations of programs, and evaluation of outcomes, yet it is a question we have not asked. It is true that ethnic groups tend to see the necessity of community control over programs as axiomatic:

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21 Clearly, it is possible to discuss ESL and BE programs in terms of language teaching methods and techniques, and I often do so myself. Rather, my point is that the source of the strife and acrimony which accompany these discussions has its origin, not in disagreement over methodology, but rather in the vested interests of the two groups, most clearly seen in the struggle for access to jobs and rewards.

22 It needs to be pointed out that ethnic identification is not isomorphic with genetic background. Some claim or are granted honorary membership in ethnic groups, like Gaarder who is editor of Defensa, while others are perfectly assimilated to Anglo values in spite of their ethnic background of which only their surname bears evidence. It has been my experience that conservative schoolboards and the like tend to favor the latter as administrators in bilingual education.

> We call upon city, state, and Federal institutions... to insure that these programs are controlled by and responsive to the needs of Latino residents (Sevilla-Casas et al., 1973).
>
> These (Cultural Education) Centres must be Indian controlled and operated, in view of the fact that they are established for Indian purposes and use (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972:17).

Nevertheless, it is an issue which remains uninvestigated in formal research and one which is probably of extreme importance in explaining and predicting phenomena in bilingual education.

Whoever else gains from bilingual education, the children certainly do too, and the clearest evidence we have in the form of empirical research on language skills comes from the data on children from the Finnish working class migrant population in Sweden. There is no research here which parallels these studies, and to my mind such research is urgent, as findings of this nature constitute compelling arguments for bilingual education to S/F and conflict theorists alike. The Scandinavian data are particularly significant in that both countries are highly developed industrialized modern societies with school achievement norms both for children in Sweden and Finland. In addition, they are societies where problems of health-care, diet, and unemployment are not intervening variables. Such conditions are often cited as contributory factors in the lack of school achievement by minority children.

In the UNESCO report,[23] Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa report on a study in which 687 Finnish students in Swedish schools, divided among 171 classes, were tested (1976:48).

> The purpose of the study was to determine the linguistic level and development in both their mother tongue and Swedish of Finnish migrant children attending Swedish

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23 The discussion of this report is taken in part from C.B. Paulston (1976), and I am grateful to the Centre for Applied Linguistics for permission to quote.

> comprehensive school. Above all, attention was paid to the interdependence between skills in the mother tongue and Swedish, i.e. the hypothesis was tested that those who have best preserved their mother tongue are also best in Swedish. Partly related to this question the significance of the age of which the child moved to Sweden was also determined. Do those who received a firm grounding in their mother tongue by attending school in Finland have a better chance of learning Swedish than those who moved to Sweden as pre-schoolers?
>
> A second important problem is the achievement of Finnish pupils in Swedish language schools. How do Finnish migrant pupils do in theoretical and what may be called practical subjects? Does one's skill in the mother tongue have any effect on the grade given in a Swedish-language school or on other school achievement?

On all non-verbal ability factors the migrant children tested out at normal or slightly above normal level, i.e. they consistently test out at a normal level of intelligence; between verbal and non-verbal factors, however, there is an "enormous gap." "During the first 4-5 years of school the Finnish migrant pupils...remained at a level which in Finland had fewer than 10% of the poorest pupils judged in verbal tests." In other words, their Finnish is poor (p.53) and so is their Swedish on a level at which about 10% of the poorest Swedish pupils were placed" (p. 54).

The language development data are supported by findings from a study by Särkelä and Kuusinen (1976) who tested 182 subjects in Sweden with a rural control group in Finland. The migrant children were slightly more above average as measured by the non-verbal Raven intelligence test.

> On the other hand, the psycholinguistic ages determined by the ITPA (Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities) show that in their command of the Finnish language the pupils in Finnish-language classes in Sweden were on average 2.5-3 years behind the normal Finnish level and the Finnish pupils in Swedish-language classes were 3-4 years behind the normal Finnish level (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976:55).

In general Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa found that the children's rate of improvement in Swedish was not as fast as the regression in the

mother tongue. Although ability factors influence the learning of Swedish, it is very clear "that the better a pupil has preserved his mother tongue, the better are his prerequisites for learning the second language" (p. 78). Overwhelmingly, the better a student knew Finnish the better he learned Swedish. An examination of language skills of siblings found that those who moved from Finland at an average age of 10 have preserved an almost normal Finnish language level and they also approach the normal level in Swedish of Swedish pupils. Those who moved at the age of twelve also achieve language skills comparable to those of the Swedes although learning the language takes place more slowly. The children who moved under the age of six or who were born in Sweden do not do as well. Their Swedish language development "often stops at the age of about twelve, evidently because of their poor grounding in the mother tongue" (p. 75). Worst off are the pupils who were 7-8 when they moved to Sweden. "The verbal development of these children, who moved just after school was beginning, (children begin school at seven in Sweden) underwent serious disturbance after the move. This also has a detrimental effect on learning Swedish" (p. 75). The evidence is perfectly clear that mother tongue development facilitates the learning of the second language, and there are serious implications that without such development neither language may be learned well, resulting in semi-lingualism.

In an examination of the school achievement of the Finnish students, it was found that they did relatively well in mathematics, in the upper level almost as well as their Swedish classmates. But more interestingly:

> The Finnish-language skills shown by the test results are fairly closely connected with the grade in mathematics. In the upper level, Finnish seems to be even more important for achievement in mathematics than Swedish -- in spite of the fact that mathematics, too, is taught in Swedish. This result supports the concept that the abstraction level of the mother tongue is important for mastering the conceptual operations connected with mathematics...Subjects such as biology, chemistry and physics also require conceptual thinking, and in these subjects migrant children with a good mastery of their mother tongue succeeded significantly better than those who knew their mother tongue poorly (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976:69).

The Canadian data from Manitoba on French speaking children also support the Finnish data (Hébert, et al., 1976). Hébert et al. also found that the pupils who did better in French, their mother tongue,

also did better in English and in other academic courses. Intelligence, socio-economic level and motivation were controlled for in this study, so they could not be factors which influenced the findings. The evidence for the importance of mother tongue development seems clear, and one would wish for similar research in the United States. Basically structural/functionalist in research design, the Finnish studies nevertheless are motivated by the same concerns which are typical of a group conflict orientation. Skutnabb-Kangas' argument, based on her data, that it is highly functional within a capitalist system to withhold bilingual education from children who need it, is clearly written from a conflict perspective:

> In this way the educational system contributes to ensure the perpetuation of a class society. Educational systems in Western industrial countries function as factors which preserve the social structure of society. As the educational system functions in the interests of the majority, and as the majority even in the future will need workers at the assembly lines, the educational system reproduces the immigrants' work and social structure, even when the system's official objective is to give the migrant children the same possibilities which the children in the receiver (host) country have. From this point of view one can understand the function of the migrant children's semilingualism as a factor which transfers and increases social inegality (1976:35, my translation).

The Finnish UNESCO report is interesting, then, in that its authors are able to combine the ideology and concerns of group conflict theorists with a research design typical of S/F research. It is in fact one of the few attempts we have of a dialectical orientation in research of bilingual education.

B. Cultural Revival and Social Movement Theory

> The literature on culture change and culture conflict applied to educational change is exceedingly sparse. It may be recalled that functional theory assumes a high degree of normative consensus across

> social systems, while conflict theory posits normative consensus or an ethos shared across major social groups, i.e., the working class, the middle class, and conflict between classes. Cultural revitalization-theory, in contrast, focuses not on social classes but, according to Wallace (1956), on "deliberate organized conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." Such efforts are viewed as constantly recurring phenomena, a type of culture-creating activity in collective efforts of varying size which seeks social and cultural change that may take place at local or national levels (R.G. Paulston, 1976:30).

i. Culture change.

The literature on culture change applied to bilingual education is even sparser, and we do not know what effect bilingual education may have on the culture of ethnic groups. One obvious resource of ethnic groups, which can be used in stressing ethnic awareness and identity of the members, is the mother tongue. With the recent trend toward ethnic mobilization, we see both language maintenance programs and language revival programs in which the mother tongue serves to reinforce the ethnic boundaries of the group (Barth, 1969; Spolsky, 1974b).

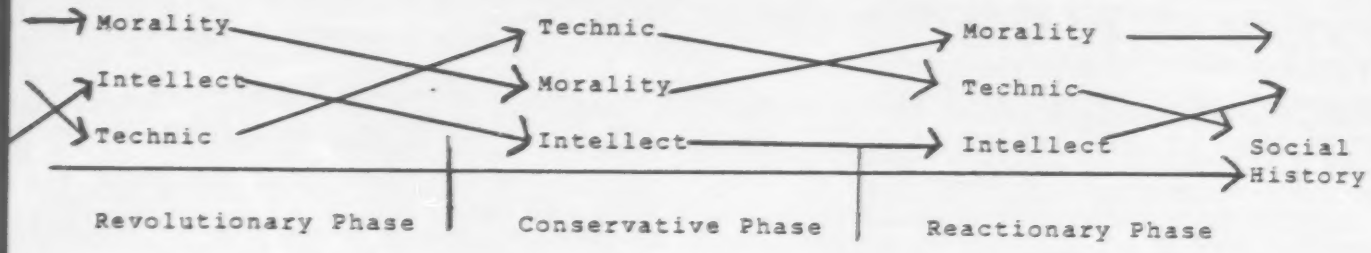
The most extreme form of ethnic mobilization occurs in what Wallace has termed revitalization movements, "deliberate, organized, conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture" (1966:265). For Wallace, this process involves a cultural transformation of the group. For the purposes of this paper, I will extend the term to include ethnic revival movements as well (which may not be involved in a cultural transformation) since Wallace's concept of "revolutionary phase" (1975:22-23) applies to both movements.

Wallace (1975) discusses the learning priorities of the two types of society:

> What a man is expected to do in his life will, in part, depend on whether he lives in a revolutionary, conservative, or reactionary society. And what he is expected to do determines what he is expected to learn (1975:21).

He outlines the following model of learning priorities:

Learning Priorities in Revolutionary, Conservative, and Reactionary Societies.



(Wallace 1975:26)

Wallace assigns very specific meanings to the terms technic, morality and intellect. By technic he refers to learning as a process of "reliability increase of action" through stimulus, reinforcement and motivation; technic is learning "how to." Morality, on the other hand, stresses "what." Morality concerns one particular kind of socially approved value:

> This kind of value is the conception that one's own behavior, as well as the behavior of others, should not merely take into consideration the attitude of the community, but should actively advance, or at least not retard, its welfare (1975:18).

Although most commonly practiced in the humble endurance of discomfort by inconspicuous people, it is "most conspicuously exemplified by such heroic actions as the soldier's throwing himself on a handgrenade in order to smother the blast and save his buddies" (1975:18). The criterion for morality is its potential for sacrifice, and all ethnic groups in the revolutionary phase have sacrificial heroes as leaders, i.e. leaders who are willing to risk freedom or life for the cause; Cesar Chavez and La Causa is a good example.

Groups undergoing a revolutionary phase will always stress moral learning, and conflicts are certain to arise when a revitalization movement takes place within a conservative society where technic has the highest learning priority, i.e. "in conservative societies, schools prepare people not for sacrifice but for jobs" (R.G. Paulston, 1972: 478). Language skills in the official language must be seen as an aspect of technic - an aspect of preparation for jobs. The mother tongue, on the other hand, is an aspect of moral learning, reaffirming the solidarity and cultural values of good and evil, right and wrong, the values of the old gods, in the language in which those values were originally transmitted. Reaffirmation of cultural values is frequently a part of the moral teaching, especially among ethnic groups who prior to the revitalization movement have been taught by the dominant group to have nothing but contempt for their own culture.

The conflict over learning priorities explains the extreme importance of control over local educational institutions, without which the ethnic groups will not be able to implement its priorities. I have frequently heard commented among my colleagues that the best bilingual schools are those that are under community control -- be it Navajo or Chicano. I am not certain what "best" means in this connection. In my discussion of the Erickson report (1969) in an earlier paper, I pointed out that "rhetoric about cultural pluralism accounts for little if the objectives are not implemented" (1975a:25); the community-run Navajo school, as measured by the achievement test batteries from the California Test Bureau, was markedly inferior to the government-run school academically. I was at the time only interested in investigating the learning of English language skills, but even so that statement -- and the evaluation itself -- shows our typical tendency to assess and evaluate the schooling of groups undergoing a revitalization movement with moral learnings as the priority in terms of the standards of the conservative society -- the standards of technique.

The function of bilingual education in ethnic revival movements is obviously an important one, but one we know very little about. A group conflict perspective is not helpful in trying to account for culture-change, as this theory focuses on conflict <u>between</u> the various groups. Wallace's framework allows us to focus on change within the group as it becomes "revitalized," but we need to explore the role of language within such revitalization movements, especially the function of language in the mechanism of ethnic boundary maintenance.

ii. <u>Culture conflict</u>.

The literature on culture conflict applied to bilingual education at the national level is also exceedingly sparse, but a number of studies

exist at the programmatic level. These studies of culture conflict differ from group conflict studies in that the latter tend to focus on conflict which is caused by structured inequality, i.e., they focus on aspects of social structure, of major institutional activities of society, like economic and political life. The studies on culture conflict, on the other hand, tend to be ethnographic in nature and focus on conflict which is caused by an incomplete knowledge and understanding of the other group's culture as its norms and values are expressed in overt behavior.

Hymes (1970) sketches a general theoretical framework for such research. Culture conflict in communication is interpreted as:

> interference not only between phonologies and grammars, but also between norms of interaction and interpretation of speech...The notion 'ways of speaking' calls particular attention to the fact that members of a speech community have a knowledge such that speech is interpretable as pertaining to one or another genre, and as instancing one or another speech act and event (p. 74).

Susan Philips used this framework in her work on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in accounting for the children's school failure. The children's native ways of speaking and strategies for learning are very different from those of the Anglo school's, and consequently

> Indian children fail to participate verbally in the classroom interaction because the social conditions for participation to which they have become accustomed in the Indian community are lacking . . . Educators cannot assume that because Indian children (or children from other cultural backgrounds than that which is implicit in American classrooms) speak English, or are taught it in school, that they have also assimilated all of the sociolinguistic rules underlying interaction in classrooms and other non-Indian social situations where English is spoken (Philips, 1970:95).

Culture conflict or interference in the classroom is a topic of immense importance in teacher training, and much of this literature is directed at the teacher (Aarons et al., 1969; Abrahams and Troike, 1972; Burger, 1971; Cazden et al., 1972; Spolsky, 1972; Turner, 1973). The assumption which underlies these studies is that once the teacher understands that

the children function with other sociolinguistic rules, with other rules of communicative competence, he will adjust his ways and culture interference in the classroom will be minimized. Philips' ccmment is unusual in this regard:

> The teachers who make these adjustments, and not all do, are sensitive to the inclinations of their students and want to teach them through means to which they most readily adapt. However, by doing so, they are avoiding teaching the Indian children how to communicate in precisely those contexts in which they are least able, and most need to learn how to communicate if they are to do well in school (Philips, 1970: 88).

She ends her paper by saying that the children must be taught "the rules for appropriate speech usage," i.e. that they must be taught the ways of speaking, acceptable to the dominant culture. This is a troublesome matter and an issue about which we know virtually nothing. In spite of all the rhetoric about bilingual/bicultural education I don't know of any research on the Title VII programs which deals with the issue of bicultural teaching. To the degree that the bicultural component of Title VII programs is discussed, this discussion invariably deals with aspects of the home culture of the children, the culture whose sociolinguistic rules the children already know. I know of no work on attempts to teach the children Anglo culture, yet Philips holds such teaching crucial for the scholastic success of the children, and she may be right. The French certainly think so:

> If these children are going to live in France, it would be a bad thing and not conducive to good integration to leave them in contact with staff from their countries of origin, since these children already have a strong tendency to follow their native customs so that there is a danger of counter-adaptation (Council of Europe, 1976:31).

C. <u>Utopian Perspectives</u>.

> Anarchistic and utopian theories of social change share the Marxian goal of radical social transformation,

> and the concern of cultural revival and revitalization movements for individual renewal. In marked contrast to all other previously noted theories seeking to explain and predict educational reform processes, they rarely bother to validate their call to reform with the findings and methods of social science, or to put their theory to practice (Idenberg, 1974). The utopians' often insightful critiques of existing inequalities and "evils" in education may serve to provoke impassioned discussion (Rusk, 1971; Graubard, 1972; Marin, et al., 1975), but utopian analysis rarely takes into account how existing oppressive power relationships and lack of tolerance for "deviance" or change in any given social setting will influence reform efforts of whatever scope or magnitude (....Freire, 1971). Typically the utopians begin with a critical analysis of socio-educational reality and rather quickly wind up in a dream world (R.G. Paulston, 1976:33-34).

Because of the provocative nature of their work, we are all familiar with names like Goodman (1960) and Illich (1971), but none of these utopian theories have been used in any serious attempts to understand the phenomena of bilingual education.

However, the literature on bilingual education abounds with its own utopian statements which tend to fall into three categories: romantic/utopian, militant/utopian or visionary/utopian.

A very large share of the literature tends to romanticize what bilingual education can do:

> A new humanism in education has very quickly brought revolutionary changes to the public school systems of the United States ... The remarkable dispatch with which bilingual educational projects have been implemented in this country during the past year bespeaks the altruism and idealism of teachers and administrators who have activated them. For in order to institute these programs, it has been necessary for the teachers themselves to write and develop their own teaching materials, translate textbooks, ... (Byrd, 1974:39).

"La verdad es que la mayoría de los programas bilingües andan cojeando" 'The truth is that the majority of the bilingual programs only limp along' (Pascual, 1976:5). Pascual's comment is based on hundreds of classroom visits, and the discrepancy between the reality of the "salones de clase" where the children learn to read from experience charts -- "endless charts prepared by aides or teachers who guess at the orthography or rather at times invent it" (p. 6; my translation) and the view of altruistic teachers in pursuit of a new humanism is not very helpful. Bilingual education is not a search for the Holy Grail, and unrealistic expectations only harm its future development.

How helpful the militant/utopian statements on bilingual education are is a question which deserves to be studied in the context of ethnic mobilization. It may be simplistic to write off such statements as "bellas palabras" and we ought to know something of the process by which voters organize along ethnic boundaries and gain control of local school-boards. The following citation directed to Mayor Daley and the Chicago City Council is clearly a political document:

> Our conference brought together Latinos in Chicago who have fought to establish bilingual/bicultural human service programs that are responsive to and controlled by the Latino community.
>
> These programs were established both through battles with established institutions and by setting up alternative facilities which bypassed irrelevant institutional services. Each of these programs is staffed and controlled by Latino community residents.
>
> These bilingual-bicultural programs are desperately fighting to stem the tide of oppression by Anglo society and institutions as seen in an 80% drop-out rate, poverty and urban renewal.
>
> However, these programs are not enough. We call upon city, state, and Federal institutions:
>
> 1. To allocate a fair share of its resources to bilingual-bicultural Latino programs
>
> 2. To insure that these programs are controlled by and responsive to the needs of Latino residents.

3. To see to it that Anglo institutions stop pressuring Latinos to become "Americanized" but recognize that our country can be strengthened by many different languages and cultures.

4. To insure that institutions serving Latinos make significant changes in their programs, resources and staff so that they can more effectively serve our people.
(Sevilla-Casas et al., 1973).

But we know nothing from any kind of organized research efforts about the effect of this and similar documents. Nor do we know very much about mainstream tolerance for such cultural "deviance," but clearly the future of bilingual education in the United States is dependent upon such tolerance. An editorial in the New York Times gave us a recent indication of how far one can expect such tolerance:

> In a recent editorial on bilingual education, we expressed concern over a growing tendency to misuse an essentially sound pedagogical tool toward the wrong educational and political ends. Specifically, we argued that the maintenance of non-English speaking enclaves points the road to "cultural, economic, and political divisiveness." ... There are clearly some who view non-English speaking enclaves as attractive bases from which to enhance their own political power. Whatever short-term political pressures might be gained from such enclaves, those who in the process are denied speedy entry into the English-speaking mainstream are saddled with persistent economic and political disadvantages. ... But none of these goals causes us to modify our position that the purpose of bilingual education must be "to create English-speaking Americans with the least possible delay" (December 17, 1976:A26).

Finally, it should be noted that utopian writings on bilingual education usually are atheoretical in nature and so provide us with data on the course of bilingual education rather than with the means toward further understanding. The issues raised in the Chicago document and in the Times editorial lend themselves best to interpretation from a

group conflict perspective. What utopian writings do best is to sketch a vision and to reaffirm good will of decent men as in these words, written in 1912 by the President of the University of New Mexico:

> I make no doubt that once the people of this State realize the importance of the (Spanish language) issue and the vast results which may accrue from it, both for State and Nation, a movement could be set on foot which, with representation properly made to the chief executive and the national legislature, would secure for New Mexico a federal appropriation sufficient to fund and endow for many years to come, a Spanish American College for the purpose of developing and utilizing to the utmost the inheritance of our fellow citizens in the Spanish language. While a proposal of this sort, considered as a mere act of tardy justice to a long neglected people, might fail of effect, yet the national advantage secured thereby would assuredly win sympathy and support for the plan (Gray, 1912:6).

CONCLUSION

I have attempted in this paper to show that a discussion of the "theoretical and programmatic dimensions of bilingual education" must first take into account an analysis of the various theoretical frameworks which apply to bilingual education. Not only the formal research design but also the alternative assumptions, goals and strategies follow from the theoretical perspective. An exploration, then, of the range of various theoretical perspectives on bilingual education will allow:

1) an identification of the world view and ideological orientation which is inherent within each theoretical perspective. Science is not value free, and by being able to recognize the assumptions implicit in work characteristic of specific theoretical orientations, one can better deal with such values;

2) an examination of alternative questions and an understanding of the theoretical implications which the selection of particular questions entails;

3) and finally, which remains to be done, the development of a dialectical research perspective in bilingual education, which would help specify the theoretical approach most likely to be fruitful in answering questions of a specified nature.

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Appendix A

RELATIONS BETWEEN THEORIES OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE/"REFORM"

Social Change Paradigms "Theories"		Illustrative Linked Assumptions Concerning Educational-Change Potentials and Processes			
		Preconditions for Educational Change	Rationales for Educational Change	Scope and Process of Educational Change	Major Outcomes Sought
Equilibrium	Evolutionary	State of evolutionary readiness	Pressure to move to an evolutionary stage	Incremental and adaptive; "natural history" approach	New stage of institutional evolutional adaptation
	Neo-Evolutionary	Satisfactory completion of earlier stages	Required to support "national modernization" efforts	"Institution building" using Western models and technical assistance	New "higher" state of education and social differentiation/specialization
	Structural-Functionist	Altered functional & structural requisites	Social system need provoking an educational response; exogenous threats	Incremental adjustment of existing institutions, occasionally major	Continued "homeostatis" or "moving" equilibrium; "human capital" and national "development"
	Systems	Technical expertise in "systems management." "Rational decision making" & "needs assessment"	Need for greater efficiency in system's operation and goal achievement; i.e. response to a system "malfunction"	Innovative "problem solving" in existing systems: i.e. "Research and Development approach"	Improved "efficiency" re: cost-benefits; adoption of innovations

(continued)

APPENDIX A (continued)

RELATIONS BETWEEN THEORIES OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANCE/"REFORM"

Social Change Paradigms "Theories"		Illustrative Linked Assumptions Concerning Educational-Change Potentials and Processes			
		Preconditions for Educational Change	Rationales for Educational Change	Scope and Process of Educational Change	Major Outcomes Sought
Conflict	Marxian	Elite's awareness of need for change, or shift of power to socialist rulers and educational reformers	To adjust correspondence between social relations of production and social relations of schooling	Adjustive incremental following social mutations or radical restructuring with Marxist predominance	Formation of integrated workers, i.e. the new "Socialist Man"
	Group Conflict	Increased political power and political awareness of working class	Demands for social justice and social equality	Large-scale national reforms through "democratic" institutions and processes	Eliminate "educational privilege" and "elitism"; create a more equalitarian society
	Cultural Revitalization	Rise of a collective effort to revive or create "a new culture." Social tolerance for "deviant" normative movements and their educational programs	Rejections of conventional schooling as forced acculturation. Education needed to support advance towards movement goals	Creation of alternative schools or educational settings. If movement captures polity, radical change in national educational ideology and structure	Inculcate new normative system. Meet movement's recruitment, training, and solidarity needs
	Anarchistic Utopian	Creation of supportive settings; growth of critical consciousness; social pluralism	Free man from institutional and social constraints. Enhance creativity need for "life-long learning"	Isolated "freeing up" of existing programs and institutions, or create new learning modes and settings, i.e. a "learning society"	Self-renewal and participation. Local control of resources and community; elimination of exploitation and alienation

(Source: R.G. Paulston, 1976: vi-vii)

APPENDIX B

A PROCESS MODEL SUGGESTED FOR CASE STUDY ANALYSIS/EVALUATION OF NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL-REFORM EFFORTS

Explicit and Implicit Research Decisions in Case Analysis

Reform Stages

1. Identification of arguments re: need for change in socioeconomic or cultural contexts	2. Diagnosis of implications for change in educational system and in contextual relations	3. Elaboration of "treatment," i.e. planning alternatives in educational structures	4. Evaluation of normative, structural and behavioral changes sought, and unexpected outcomes
What values, ideology, i.e., normative premises? Who advocates? Who rejects? etc.	What social and educational change theory and biases? Whose expertise? Who attempts to discredit? etc.	How determined and justified re: 1 and 2? Who controls implementation? Who obstructs? etc.	What criteria? Whose goals? How determined? Who "wins"? Who "loses"? Relations to 1 and 2? etc., etc.

(Source: R.G. Paulston, 1976:46)

A REACTION PAPER TO "THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION"

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As members of the social science community, we probably all agree that scientific endeavor is a search for truth; or, to phrase it differently, it is an extension of knowledge. But what is truth? What is knowledge?

My purpose here is not to engage in a philosophical discussion, though the questions I have posed are philosophical in nature. My immediate aim, however, is to reflect upon the assumptions underlying Professor Christina Bratt Paulston's comprehensive view of "Theoretical Perspectives on Bilingual Education," so as to enhance our understanding of this work and strengthen our ability to deal with its inherent value.

Professor Paulston clearly states the basic premise, "that each theory will identify differently the key variables and their relationships, and consequently the answers they seek will differ." Basic to this premise is the belief (which she also clearly states) that "science is not value-free, and that by being able to recognize the assumptions implicit in work characteristic of specific theoretical orientations, one can better deal with such values."

Indeed, in recalling the stated aim of this reaction paper, you will note the similarity in points of departure--namely, the assumption that science is not value-free, and that awareness of implicit beliefs of different theoretical orientations enables one to deal more capably with their inherent values.

It then follows that my approach to Professor Paulston's presentation is not antithetical in essence, but rather complementary in nature. This being the case, it permits me to use this time to expound upon specific issues I deem essential to an enhanced awareness of the importance of Professor Paulston's paper.

Professor Paulston writes, "I don't think that it is an exaggeration to say that the majority of writings on bilingual education fall under this (structural/functional) category

(equilibrium paradigm)." Later on in the paper, by way of explaining why there are few bilingual education studies with a conflict perspective, she writes: " ...one reason this is so is that the majority of research on bilingual education has followed the structural/functional approach ...."

To my way of thinking, the response provided does not expand our awareness of factors contributing to the scarcity of conflict-oriented bilingual education research. It is my contention that, without a fuller understanding of this issue, we are severely limited in making the link between theory and practice.

Consequently, the second aim of this reaction paper is to recognize in our experiences social forces which influence our consciousness. In the pursuit of this second aim, I hope to clarify the relationship between theory and practice, and in so doing, expand our understanding of the dynamic between the equilibrium paradigm and the conflict paradigm. I do so because it is my belief that for bilingual educators to act responsibly, we need an understanding of values inherent in specific theoretical orientations applicable to bilingual education (to which Professor Paulston has greatly contributed). In addition, we need an awareness of how social forces influence these values (which is the particular focus of this reaction paper).

Let us return to the questions initially posed: <u>What is knowledge</u>? Gouldner claims that knowledge may be, and has been, conceived as either "information" or "awareness." (Gouldner, 1970.)

The implicit ambiguity in the meaning of "knowledge," as the term is used in the social sciences, is illustrated in a fundamental controversy. On the one hand, there are those who believe that social sciences are "natural" sciences like physics or biology. From this perspective, knowledge is conceived of as "information," as assertions regarding reality that may be empirically confirmed. The aim is to accumulate information "for its own sake or to enhance power over the surrounding world: to know in order to control." (Gouldner, 1970.) When this conception is applied to the physical sciences, it serves to unite humanity in an effort to conquer nature that is external to human beings. Humanity is seen as having a common interest in this conquest. However, when the physical science model is applied to the study of "humankind" itself, the assumption of unity among human beings is open to question.

The physical science model applied to the social sciences assumes that human beings are "objects" that can be known and controlled. Within this model, the role of the social scientist is described as being "positivistic," "objectivistic," and "value-neutral." This first approach (to which I shall refer later on) has been labelled Positivism.

In opposition to this conception of social science emerged a different conception that Gouldner describes as having "an inward closeness to the object studied, rather than an antiseptic distance from it, an inward communion with it rather than an external manipulation of it." (Gouldner, 1970.) Conceived in this manner, the objective of the social sciences is not "value-free information" about social reality, but rather knowledge that is relevant to human beings' changing interests, aspirations, and values. It is knowledge that may expand human awareness of our place in the social world.

Social science thus conceived entails the assumption that the social world is composed of human beings, as opposed to its being a "reality" unto itself, eternally fixed and unrelated to human action. A further assumption is that the social world is not out there awaiting discovery, that to attain knowledge--that is, understanding, awareness--we must turn inward. For, it is claimed, "there is no knowledge of the world that is not a knowledge of our own experience with it and our own relation to it." (Gouldner, 1970.) Awareness of differences is essential to the extension of knowledge, and it becomes the focus of the scientific enterprise.

Within this latter conception of the social sciences, the answer to What is knowledge? takes on a different meaning. Judgments as to what constitutes truth depends on the observer's particular perspective, which, in this sense, means the manner in which one views an object, what one perceives in it, and how one construes it in one's own thinking. In brief, the formulation of concepts, the angle of vision, is guided by the observer's interests. This second approach has been referred to as Hermeneutics.

The shift of paradigms in the social sciences, herein briefly discussed, is reflected in Professor Paulston's paper. This work, "Theoretical Perspectives on Bilingual Education," can be placed within the latter (Hermeneutics) paradigm. In summary, among its assumptions are the following:

- That there is no such thing as a value-free position.
- That the social world is not an eternally fixed reality, independent of human action.

- That "knowledge" has a social base.
- That differences in social experience lead to different perspectives on reality.
- That awareness of differences is essential for the extension of knowledge.

If we accept these assumptions, then we can agree with Professor Paulston's postulation that "the identification of the 'important theoretical dimensions,' i.e., the independent variables, and the interpretation of outcomes depends on the world view of the researcher and the particular theory he employs to explain and predict phenomena."

I have specified from the outset that I accept these basic assumptions. My purpose, then, is not to engage in a polemical discussion regarding a conception of knowledge, but rather to identify social forces that impose themselves on our (bilingual educators') thinking, and to speculate on possible implications for bilingual education theory and research.

Let us first return to the content of the paper. Drawing on R.G. Paulston's classification of social and education change theory, Professor Christina Bratt Paulston identified two competing paradigms--<u>equilibrium</u> and <u>conflict</u>. The equilibrium paradigm is a 'world view' concerned with maintaining stability in society "through the harmonious relationship of the social components"; it focuses on change as a smooth, cumulative process. Allow me to point out the similarities between this paradigm and the "natural science" (Positivistic) approach to the social sciences: Both are based upon the assumption of essential unity and common interests of humankind as a species.

The conflict paradigm, on the other hand, is a "world view" in which change is perceived as endemic to all social systems. It is concerned with conflict over values, resources, and power, and it focuses on the conditions that tend toward instability. Here also let me point out the similarities between this paradigm and the Hermeneutic approach to the social sciences: Both are based upon the assumption of differences and conflicting interests of humankind as a species.

Professor Paulston identifies the basic phenomenon which led to Title VII bilingual education in this country:

> "There are a number of children from a low socioeconomic status background who speak no or poor English and who encounter massive school failure with consequent early school dropout and low integration into the economic life of the nation."

As interpreted from an "equilibrium perspective," we see that the argument for transitional bilingual education stems from social and economic inequalities experienced by lower-status ethnolinguistic minority students in this country. This argument is built on the assumption that social and economic status is related to educational achievement; that high I.Q. scores are essential for success in life; that I.Q. tests are valid measures of intelligence; that there is a need for early selection in school. The aim of transitional bilingual education is to reduce social inequalities by equalizing educational opportunities. The ultimate attempt is to realize "Meritocratic ideals." The credo is "equal opportunity"; the solution to the problem is "compensatory education." Change in the social circumstances of lower-status ethnolinguistic minorities is seen as taking place over many generations.

Given this interpretation, we are still left with the theoretical question of how failures within the system can be explained (causal, independent factors). The question becomes more pointed when a consistent pattern of failure is observed among a particular group (lower-status, oppressed minority students).

In her analysis of this paradigm, Professor Paulston identifies two basic explanations it offers for failure. The first is the I.Q. deficit theory, which she classifies under the evolutionary theory. The I.Q. deficit theory suggests that failures are caused by genetic deficiencies. The second is the cultural difference theory, which she classifies under the structural/functional theory. The cultural difference theory suggests that failures are caused by cultural incompatability (assuming language under culture) between students and the school system.

From a conflict perspective, the explanation offered by the cultural difference theory is open to another interpretation. Transitional bilingual education, with its English language acquisition emphasis and its cultural assimilation thrust, departs from the assumption that different cultures and languages must necessarily compete with one another, and that distinct cultural and linguistic systems may enter human experience only as mutually exclusive alternatives, never as intertwined or simultaneously available repertoires. Since

only one language and one culture are officially sanctioned, the concept of cultural and linguistic differences may be understood as a euphemism for cultural and linguistic deficits. The implicit assumption is that the low educational achievement of lower-socioeconomic-status ethnolinguistic minority students is the result of deficiencies in their individual social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds.

Title VII-ESEA, as intended by Congress (the branch of government with formal power to appropriate federal funds, upon which most existing bilingual education programs depend), is based on the cultural deficit theory. Never questioning the validity of meritocratic ideology, it assumes that failures are the result of cultural deficits, and for the sake of equilibrium in society, it offers as the solution to the problems of lower-status, ethnolinguistic minority students, compensatory, transitional bilingual education, designed to enable them to overcome their "handicap."

A rationale is provided for intervention by trained experts who understand the problems of lower-status, ethnolinguistic minority students and know how to deal with them. As a result, a number of positions have been created--bilingual teachers, bilingual teacher-trainers, bilingual education administrators, bilingual curriculum specialists, researchers in bilingual studies, and so on.

As federally-sponsored transitional bilingual education expands, and the demand for bilingual professionals remains high, opportunity for upward mobility--or at least maintenance of already attained social position--is available to individuals recruited for bilingual positions. Those who benefit from the addition of these positions (which are usually paid from federal funds) to the existing occupational structure may experience relative or absolute upward mobility. However, the positive experience of a developing cadre of experts or professionals may reinforce the unverified claim that transitional bilingual education is the "great equalizer" for lower-status socioeconomic, ethnolinguistic minority children. That is, our own personal experiences and our newly created interests may impose themselves on our thinking, and lead us to accept the assumptions of the equilibrium paradigm. Within this context, we can better understand Professor Paulston's comment that " ...We need research which looks at bilingual education as an intervening or dependent variable, and we don't have it," because the existing structures have limited our perspective.

Indeed, if we reflect upon our activities, we can see that, although we have often supported the ideal of maintenance

and enrichment bilingual education, we have based our political efforts on the compensatory concept of children in need, and have viewed bilingual education as primarily a movement to benefit only ethnolinguistic minorities. We have defined ourselves as non-middle class, non-English speaking, non-Anglo-Saxon, and consequently possessing low self-esteem.

Most bilingual education research is conducted from the perspective of the structural/functional theory of the equilibrium paradigm, and what I have attempted to do in the preceding discussion is to identify some social forces that explain this phenomenon. Two such forces are Title VII-ESEA and the creation of vested interests among a developing cadre of bilingual education experts. By expanding our understanding of these and other social forces (and the interests behind them) which attempt to impose themselves on our thinking, bilingual educators will be in a more advantageous position to contribute meaningfully to the betterment of society.

Professor Christina Bratt Paulston foresees a shift in paradigms from the equilibrium perspective to the conflict perspective. She believes that the tension accompanying bilingual education cannot be explained by equilibrium theory, and, in support of this position, she quotes R.G. Paulston:

> "With its limited ability to include, let alone explain, conflict in the calculus of change efforts, the equilibrium paradigm must now seriously compete with alternative views of social and educational reform that see change and instability as constant and unavoidable characteristics of all social organisms and relations."

While agreeing with this observation, I consider an exploration of the dynamic underlying this paradigm shift of importance to understanding the issue. Although the depth and breadth of this topic is beyond the scope of this reaction paper, I shall venture an observation.

We live in the context of a burgeoning welfare state, in which the centralized control of an expanding administrative class is rapidly increasing. This welfare state professes liberal sympathy for the "underdog," the "underprivileged," the "undernourished," the "undereducated." It is this welfare state that provides the bulk of financial resources for the implementation of "liberal education reforms" such as bilingual education. Among the assumptions underlying the welfare state is the belief that existing social

problems can be remedied by channeling funds into social service programs; consequently, pressures threatening the stability of the social system can be directed and controlled by institutional mechanisms.

The similarity in perspective between this powerful welfare state and the equilibrium paradigm cements their partnership and strengthens the position of the equilibrium theory. The mutual benefit each partner derives reinforces their need for each other. The welfare state derives legitimacy from the scientific community as well as solutions to managerial problems. In exchange, though the equilibrium paradigm is under attack, it is upheld over its theoretical opponents through financial and ideological support from this welfare state and powerful interests which in turn uphold it.

It is my contention that an answer to the question--Why are there so few bilingual education studies from a conflict perspective? Or, conversely, why are most bilingual education studies from an equilibrium perspective?--must be found in the relationship between the welfare state and the equilibrium paradigm. This is not to impose a deterministic view on social action. It is not to say that human beings cannot go beyond materialistic limitations, but rather that awareness of imposed limitations can liberate us to become active creators of society; that understanding can contribute to more creative alternative solutions.

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"THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY MOTHER TONGUE SCHOOL: INTRODUCTION TO A STUDY"

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Ethnic Community Mother Tongue Schools (ECMTS) constitute an important yet little known aspect of bilingual schooling in the United States. There are some 5,000 such schools currently in operation. These schools and their implicit assumptions regarding language and ethnicity, bilingualism in American society, and the future of ethnic mother tongue maintenance, are worthy of careful study by all concerned with ethnicity and education in the United States. This article provides an overview of these schools, focusing on the 1,200 all-day schools among them, describes some of their salient characteristics, and notes relationships between these schools and the bilingual education movement in the United States.

Our collective fascination with respect to the Title VII Bilingual Education Act in the USA has made us blind to several other kinds of bilingual education that abound - and that have always been plentifully present - in our own midst and, indeed, throughout educational history. Glyn Lewis (1976) has done us a distinct service, one among many such, by introducing us to the early history of bilingual education in the Euromediterranean basin. For literally thousands of years before the appearance of mass ("public") education, political, religious, commercial and cultural elites educated their children bilingually. The recognized local/regional and supra-local/supra-regional languages of record, administration, justice, trade and enlightenment changed over the centuries in accord with the fortunes of war, migration (forced and voluntary), language spread, intergroup contact and royal alliances, but again the bilingual pattern appears among those fortunate enough to receive literacy-related education. Bilingual education, formal education and social advantage were synonymous for millenia and remain so to this very day for the children of elites throughout the world. The pattern involved is clearly different than that of Title VII where disadvantage rather than advantage is the hallmark of both bilingual education and of the population involved in it.

Coming closer to home, Shirley Heath has begun to reveal to us the early role of bilingual education in the fashioning of American public education. In the first half of the 19th century (and even appreciably thereafter in some areas) immigrants (and Catholic immigrants in particular) sent their children to bilingual parochial schools maintained by their church. When public education sought to attract these same children to its schools and programs it too often

began and long remained in a bilingual education mold. Up until World War I such bilingual public schools existed in many Northeastern and Midwestern urban school districts (Kloss 1966, 1977). The Commissioner of Education regularly commented upon them favorably in his annual reports to Congress as conducive to adjusted, healthy, literate and patriotic citizens (see, e.g., Viereck 1902: 531-708). How different the picture of public bilingual education in those days (even though it still remains to be studied in depth) from that which is associated with Title VII's efforts today!

Finally, and most recently of all, the bilingual education efforts of noteworthy schools have been described in considerable detail. Whether in Germany, (Mackey, 1972), in Florida (Mackey and Beebe, 1977) or in Montreal (Lambert and Tucker, 1972), they involve enrichment-for-the-relatively-comfortable, give or take a degree of language maintenance to suit particular local needs. These schools should remind us of the thousands upon thousands of non-transitional bilingual education units functioning all over the world today, indeed in almost every country thereof (Fishman, 1976). The USA is by no means the only country with a huge investment in transitional bilingual education. Such programs also exist in the USSR, particularly for smaller and non-European minorities, in Northern and Western Europe for (im)migrant laborers, and in a growing number of African and Asian settings where English or French (rather than any of the local vernaculars) are still the unmarked languages of education even though few mother tongue speakers of either exist and lower school enrollments continue to expand. However, the United States probably holds the unenviable record among advanced societies for sponsoring transitional bilingual schools exclusively within the public sector.

The Ethnic Community Mother Tongue School In American Bilingual Education

Of all the foregoing examples, only that pertaining to the early bilingual origins of American public education touched upon the existence of ethnic community mother tongue schools (ECMTS) in the USA. Those schools did not disappear from the American scene when public schools arose to compete with them. They exist to this very day in very substantial numbers (some 5,000 in all), proudly trace their history back to before the birth of the Republic and to the extent that they are all-day schools - which some 1,200 of them are - they are bona fide (but commonly overlooked or forgotten) members of the entire bilingual education enterprise in the USA. Perhaps a very rich and wasteful country, such as ours, can afford to overlook or forget 1,200 schools, but certainly our bilingual education economy is not rich enough to do so. The parents, teachers, and students of these 1,200 schools could constitute important allies and sources of strength for "the movement" as a whole, but, before they can function as such it is necessary to become familiar with them and, thereby, to recognize common (as well as distinctive) problems, goals, and interests.

Not all the ECMTSs in the USA are engaged in bilingual education. Some are totally engaged in language maintenance efforts and (ideally) utilize the ethnic mother tongue alone for instructional purposes. Others teach the ethnic mother tongue but do not (and presumably could not, given their students' level of achievement) employ it as a language of instruction per se. The latter two school types, more than 75% of the entire ECMTS pie, are supplementary, i.e., they are attended by children who attend other schools - most usually public schools - in lieu of compulsory education. Thus, these schools also deal with students who are of necessity bilingual and, as such, they should be of interest to the bilingual education practitioner, researcher, trainee and observer.

Another major reason why bilingual educationists would do well to take a closer look at the ECMTS in the USA, above and beyond the stark fact that it is massively here, there and everywhere throughout the country, is the further fact that, freed as it is of the restrictions of Title VII, its teachers, administrators, parents, school board members and ideologists more openly and fully verbalize several major assumptions that are also mentioned (albeit in more muted tones) by their Title VII counterparts. Indeed these assumptions fully merit careful analysis and evaluation not only by the bilingual education constituencies but by all who are interested in the sociology of language and sociology of education more generally. Let us briefly describe these assumptions and refer to other sources for their full-blown investigation.

Assumption 1: The Language and Ethnicity Link: A Central Verity

ECMTSs are unequivocally committed to the view that their particular language and ethnicity linkage is vital and, hopefully, eternal. The linkage between Xish (be it Greek, German, Hungarian, Ukranian, Navajo, etc.) and Xishness (Greekness, Germanness, Hungarianness, Ukrainianness, Navajoness, etc.) is perceived as having been forged in the prehistoric - indeed, perhaps even in the preterrestrial - past, as being in the category of the sacred mysteries. The link is viewed as the essence of identity, of authenticity, of uniqueness. It is experienced almost as a palpable, bodily reality and it is vibrantly expressed with the metaphor of the body: blood, tears, bones, milk, heart, etc. The ethnic mother tongue presumably reverberates in all of these and the ethnicity with which it is associated is "felt" and ennacted through all of these.

Obviously, such views are quite discrepant from more pragmatic (and more accurate, or, at least, more confirmable) views - much more widespread and intellectually protected on the American scene- that deny all of the foregoing and that claim that languages are merely means of communication, that their links with particular

ethnicities are historical and remediable accidents, and that ethnicity itself is nothing more than a reflection of the outer limits of a stable reward system (and, as such, that it is both eminently arbitrary and eminently changeable). These contrasted views are fully examined and compared in Fishman, 1977.

Assumption 2: The Language and Ethnicity Link has Causal Consequences

The holy bond between a particular language and its associated ethnicity is not merely assumed to be a precious verity but it is viewed as a powerfully causal action system as well. The particular structured characteristics of a given language cause, lead, force, constrain, require their speakers to know, do, intuit, appreciate and resonate the way they do. The ethnic mother tongue is a dynamo that generates sensitivities, skills, abilities, and understandings unique to its community of speakers. It has a force, a rhythm, a character, a taste, a sensitivity, a quality of beauty, humaneness, and greatness of soul that fosters the same characteristics within the community of those who speak it natively, consistently, and zealously.

This view is importantly different from the one that merely claims that a people's history and culture are most fully, easily and parsimoniously expressed via its own language. The ECMTSs view maintains that languages do not merely reflect their associated cultures but that they create them, fashion them, and control them. This view is fully examined in Fishman (1979a).

Assumption 3: Language Maintenance is a Moral Imperative Since it is Essential for the Maintenance and Furtherance of the Ethnomoral Tradition

Given the two previous assumptions, the third can come as no surprise. If the link between a language and its associated ethnicity is itself holy and if it is causal of the uniqueness that authentically represents the tradition, then, obviously, one must do all that is in one's power in order to maintain and foster that language. The most moralistically infused ethnic activities - ethnicity itself being best understood as an ethnomoral experience - birth, death, marriage, "rites de passage", these are inextricably linguistically intertwined, interpenetrated, interconnected. An entire moral order must be defended and encouraged to blossom and to give fruit. Wherever inroads of translinguification appear the danger of transethnification lurks. These dangers must be resisted and removed. Self defense is the basic law of nature and of society. Language maintenance is the very foundation of defending the ethnomoral tradition, and, as such, it deserves open, unembarrassed, topmost priority. This view is further examined in Fishman (1979b).

Assumption 4: Stable Bilingualism/Biculturalism is a Possible (And, Under American Circumstances, a Necessary) Societal Arrangement

Minority ethnic communities in the USA can hardly avoid acquiring English. Even the separation due to spatial distance is no longer a barrier to the spread of English as telephone, radio, television and rapid transportation linkages multiply. However, although spatial and interactional barriers shrink and even disappear, ethnolinguistic separation, it is claimed, can, nevertheless, be attained and retained.

Furthermore, it is generally assumed among ECMTS spokesmen today, this goal can be achieved (a) on a societal basis, rather than merely on an exceptional individual basis alone, and (b) on a stable or permanent basis, above and beyond a three generation criterion, rather than on a transitional basis alone.

Among the most encouraging and confirmatory developments in this connection has been the "rebirth of ethnicity" experience from the mid to late 60's to the present day. This experience, world wide on the one hand and, on the other, reaching into the very ranks of those who had apparently transethnified and translinguified into the greater American ("unmarked") mainstreams, is fully in accord with the assumption that minority ethnicity in the USA has an infinite capacity to "overcome" and to creatively stabilize itself while maintaining interaction with the mainstream. This assumption is examined in detail in Fishman (1979c).

Assumption 5: By Means of Planning and Organization the Future of Bilingualism and Biculturism in the USA Can Be Rendered Different From the Past

The priority given to language maintenance in ECMTSs is merely the reflection of community-wide determination to "do something about the language issue." Ethnic communities in the United States, not unlike their mainstream counterparts, are more convinced than ever that action is required in order to implement their ideals. They have become experts - and are becoming ever more so - on how to participate in American political processes of bargaining, pressuring, arriving at tradeoffs and more generally, twisting arms, kissing babies, organizing, mobilizing, and consciousness raising among their constituencies. Even more than that, ethnic communities in the USA have learned how to reinterpret their interests. Not only is General Motors "altruistically" interested in "the general welfare," not only NAM and the AFL-CIO, but also the various ethnic associations of our country. The latter have joined the former and are among the most active planners and organizers in our country today on the assumption that in this fashion they can more fully reach their goals. This assumption is examined in detail in Fishman (1979d).

Assumption 6: The Ethnic Community Mother Tongue School Makes a Major, Independent Contribution to Ethnic Mother Tongue Maintenance

The American Anglo-mainstream - intellectuals and laymen alike - are currently experiencing a crisis of belief vis-a-vis the schools as independent forces in the attainment of either narrowly academic or broader societal goals. From being oversold on education in the 50's and 60's, the public has swung, pendulum-like, to the other extreme and is now undersold on education as a national priority. Not so in the world of the ethnic community mother tongue school. Here there is still substantial confidence that "the right program of studies and co-curricular experience" can, does, and will significantly help to accomplish the goals that are so warmly desired: language and ethnicity maintenance within the framework of stable bilingualism/biculturalism. Of course, not all ECMTSs are considered to be making the contributions that they could or should to the attainment of these goals, but the basic confidence and trust in the effectiveness of "the optimal school" is there. This assumption is examined in detail in Fishman (1979e).

The above assumptions have an importance above and beyond their truth or falseness when tested in accord with the canons of science. They represent deep convictions and, as such, they motivate, focus, activate, orient, and illuminate the lives of millions upon millions of Americans. As such they are important far beyond their "truth value." They are principals of cultural action and it is neither the function nor the goal of cultures to be either efficient or confirmable; rather it is their function to provide meaning, direction, continuity, and identity. These assumptions do just that for the world of the ECMTS and, therefore, it is encumbent upon bilingual educators, sociologists of language, and sociologists of education to become maximally familiar with them, if only for the furtherance of their own disciplines.

Ethnic Mother Tongue Schools in the USA: Where, How Many, What Kind?

So compulsively has the American intellectual establishment discharged its self-appointed "know nothing, see nothing, say nothing" task vis-a-vis the ECMTS that the latter does not enter at all into out national book-keeping. Where can one turn to find out how many Xish mother tongue schools there are and where they can be found? In a nation that counts its non-English or limited English speaking population (because this population is the target of governmental programs), we are relatively unconcerned with those learning ethnic mother tongues at their own expense! Where would one go to discover if the institutional counterparts (schools, churches, press, radio, T.V. programs) of ethnic mother tongue communities are consistent with their numerical representation in the population? Where would one look to determine if the more recent ethnic arrivals to the USA (Hispanics, South and Southeast Asians, Pacific Islanders, Arabic speakers from various countries of origin, Russian and Israeli Jews, etc.) are as institutionally oriented as were their predecessors from Northern, Central

and Eastern Europe? How could one determine how various regions of the USA differ with respect to the extent to which their ethnic minorities have established schools (and other community institutions) of their own? Lacunae such as these must be filled for a more adequate understanding of America as a whole. A new attempt in this direction, at least in so far as national bookkeeping is concerned vis-a-vis the ECMTS is contained in Fishman 1979f, Markman 1979, and in the directory (Fishman and Markman 1979b) that comes at the end of Fishman and Markman (1979a).

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"THE STATE PERSPECTIVE: BILINGUAL HIGHER EDUCATION IN NEW JERSEY -- PRESENT POLICY AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS"

By: Dr. T. Edward Hollander
Chancellor
NJ Department of Higher Education

We have a tradition in this country of linguistic and cultural diversity which goes back to the seventeenth century when the Indians were joined by ever increasing numbers of immigrants from many countries of western and eastern Europe, who brought to American shores a wealth of languages and customs. Pluralism was woven into our social fabric from the outset and yet, as I need hardly remind you, we have never been entirely comfortable with the resulting garment. We have not worn our pluralism well. It has taken a long time for American society to recognize as an asset the rich cultural and linguistic resources that we have within our national boundaries. This recognition has been precipitated by rapidly changing conditions in the world that demand greater intercultural understanding and communication - on this may depend our very survival as a great nation.

Greater awareness of the international character of our society has also been fostered by ethnolinguistic minority groups, especially the Hispanic-American community. This group, which is shortly expected to become the largest minority population in the United States, has significantly influenced greater societal recognition and responsiveness to the needs of our linguistic minorities. Hispanics have begun impacting all our social institutions, but particularly education; their efforts to promote bilingual education as a viable instructional approach for educating students of limited English proficiency have been supported at the local, state and federal levels. We began our bilingual unit in the Department of Higher Education four years ago on soft monies and two years ago we established the position as a permanent line in our budget. We plan to augment our own efforts in this area by committing additional state funds as well as federal monies.

The bilingual education movement comes at a particularly important time in our history. We have a rich economic and social mix in this country. This has occurred largely (and most people don't recognize it) as the result of an agricultural revolution. Today 4% of our population grow enough food for the rest of us; a hundred and sixty years ago it took about 70% of the population to do this. The increases in productivity in agriculture and the resultant surpluses made it possible for the extensive commitment to industrial development in this country and for our contributions to the world's industrial revolution.

Historically, there have also been significant increases in productivity in the industrial sector. Much of our development was the result of cheap energy, and available and inexpensive natural resources. We may now have reached the end of that road. Today, a major part of our work force- and the sector with the greatest growth - is in the service industries and in government, currently labor intensive areas in which it is very hard to make major gains, in productivity. However, we are at the edge of a new technological revolution in the development and application of electronic technology, which promises great advances in the service industries. Accompanying this change will be the necessity of increased education; there will be little room in the job market for the unskilled or untrained.

With too high a proportion of our population in poverty, with a tradition of little redistribution of income, and with the expected tapering in the rate of gain in our standard of living, our society faces an extremely serious period in the area of inter-group relations. The American agenda surely includes this as one of the great issues for the coming years.

There is something else that is happening in this country. As a society we are growing older. I recently discovered that the average age of the Jewish population in this country is 46. (Unfortunately, I'm above the average.) I also discovered that the average age of the mainland Puerto Rican population is 18. If one looks at other groups in our society, one finds a wide range. Although as a whole we are growing older, our youth culture is concentrated in our Hispanic and minority communities. For our society, getting older means getting more conservative; getting older means a redistribution of our resources from services for young people, such as education and higher education, to services for older people such as Social Security, old age assistance, health care, etc. This shift of interest is a major factor in the change within government since in the 1960's education and higher education were growing concerns within our society. This shift in priorities does not augur well for higher education and education. And it does not augur well for those groups within our society who still need those services.

There is a third issue - the role of education and higher education in social progress. For many years in this country, we had an open frontier. That frontier is now, of course, closed. We have been told about the great frontier role that technology plays, but this also seems to be closing for the average person. However, there is still one frontier which remains open. That is the personal frontier which can be broadened by higher education.

Higher education has begun to provide minority populations in this country with a shot at the top. My own view is that the future of our minority communities rests on the effectiveness of our higher education system. This is going to be our task for the future. And this is why our enterprise is so very important for American minority groups.

In New Jersey one of the interesting facts that one finds in looking at demography is that, although our college age population is declining, the decline is mostly limited to whites, males first than females behind them. Increasingly, our colleges and universities will be called upon to serve a growing number of students from the Black and Hispanic communities. Yet, we are not prepared to do this effectively. One of the great challenges in higher education is to make this transition in our educational programs so they will continue to be effective for the students who will enter during the last part of this century. This is a commitment our Department has made. To do so requires that we regard our total college-age population as our challenge, our opportunity, and our responsibility. In my view, the future of our cities and America's future as a cultural and economic leader depends to a large degree on how well we perform this function. I firmly believe that higher education is the best institution within our society to fulfill this function.

Let me turn more specifically to the question of bilingual education. As was pointed out, it is a relatively recent development in New Jersey. With the advent of the Bilingual Education Law of 1975, the Department of Education moved to establish guidelines to regulate bilingual and ESL teacher certification. As with other teaching licenses, the bilingual and ESL guidelines require the completion of a prescribed course of study in foundations and methodology in an approved collegiate program. Unlike other certificate areas, these also require prospective teachers to meet minimum levels of language proficiency in English and Spanish (or another language) for bilingual certification and in English for ESL certification. (I shall return to thus point later on in my comments.) In my judgment, these extra requirements are worthwhile and necessary because they provide greater rigor at the pre-service level; this in turn, benefits the children of the State.

In February, 1979, I appointed a Task Force on Bilingual Higher Education to study the pertinent issues in this area and to make policy recommendations. This group, composed of highly qualified individuals from the education and higher education community, was formed not only to address bilingual postsecondary education, but also to examine bilingual and ESL teacher preparation. I believe the preparation of teachers is as important, if not more important, to our society as the preparation of lawyers, physicians, and engineers, because it is through education that we will either assure our future or deny it. Consequently, the Task Force will undertake a thorough analysis of existing certification standards for bilingual and ESL teachers in order to recommend ways in which our present system may be improved. Moreover, let me point out, that the Department has played an active role in promoting the initiative and expansion of bilingual education programs through grants from the Chancellor's Research and Development Fund. Our colleges have used these grants for program planning, material development, and expansion of curricular offerings.

I am also very pleased that the Newman Commission has been working to strengthen the way in which we certify teachers in this State. I believe that the present teacher certification requirements are less than adequate. The current system allows any individual who graduates from an approved program, regardless of his or her ability to teach, to receive a teaching certificate for life. We are one of the few states

in the nation that does not require graduate study for a teaching certificate. Since the impact of such lenient standards will continue to be felt in our elementary and secondary schools ten or twenty years from now, there is a compelling need to require of people who enter the teaching field the same degree of professional competence as we now require of those who enter every other profession in this state. For the good of the teaching profession, we must tighten our licensing standards. If we fail to act, we will not be able to attract, as we did in generations past, the best available people into teaching. Should this occur, the impact of such neglect on our society could be catastrophic.

In the area of bilingual and ESL education, teacher certification standards must also undergo rigorous scrutiny to assure that our linguistically diverse student population receives the quality education to which they are entitled. This is not only our duty as educators, but our obligation to future generations.

A projection concerning the future direction of bilingual higher education must be founded on knowledge of at least four factors: first, we need to know the cultural, linguistic, academic and demographic characteristics of those to be served since our population is changing dramatically; second, we need to assess the kinds of programs that are presently in place or planned at our colleges and universities; third, we need to specify the linguistic, cultural and academic goals of bilingual higher education; and fourth, we need to identify the financial and human resources necessary to provide the best possible services. This is a challenging process that requires great commitment and effort not only from bilingual educators, but from all of us involved in higher education.

We have begun to address these issues through the establishment of the aforementioned Task Force on Bilingual Higher Education. The Department of Higher Education, together with the Department of Education, has also begun to undertake a joint evaluation of bilingual higher education programs in our colleges and universities to identify ways in which we can improve and extend the services offered. We are in the stage where we are gathering the elements necessary to direct the course of bilingual higher education for the next decade. We are doing so in a committed, thoughtful, and organized manner that I hope may serve as a model for other states as well as for ourselves.

In looking to the future, I believe we should bear in mind some broader concerns about our total higher education system. As a matter of national necessity, a fundamental re-thinking of what our students learn in their schools and colleges about the world has become an issue of educational urgency. Domestic and global affairs are now increasingly inseparable from each other. Therefore, the bifurcation of "international" and "American" into two distinct spheres of study is an increasingly obsolete concept. The need for all Americans to understand better the driving forces in their world and their own integral place in it is now as important to our survival and to our exercises of citizenship as was once our essential knowledge of neighborhoods and regions in our own national culture.

Education is a fundamental investment in this nation's future. The students who graduate today will be playing leadership roles at the beginning of the Twenty-first Century. Unless basic changes are made in their education, they will live unprepared in what will likely be substantially altered global circumstances. The highest priority should now be given by the nation's colleges and universities to the systematic integration of global perspectives into all major fields of learning.

The National Council on Learning has identified minimal competencies to be developed in all undergraduate college students. Among these are:

1. A fundamental understanding of the key elements of global and national interdependence, as taught in the various major fields of study, such as economics, history, sociology, etc.;

2. A deeper understanding of another culture, as seen through its history, literature, language, philosophy, economics, and politics;

3. Competency in a second language which would contribute to the comprehension of other cultures, changing international circumstances, and of one's own culture in the global context.

One of the most serious errors we made in this country in the last fifteen years was to eliminate the second language requirement from our college and university curriculum. Aside from its impact on individual students, something which is important in its own right, we have derailed our capability for research and scholarship in many languages of the world. This capability needs to be reclaimed.

With these points in mind, let us set out to meet these challenges, knowing that it will not be an easy task. Let me conclude by reiterating what was said of the climbers of Mt. Everest as they disappeared into the clouds, "When last seen, they were still climbing." We have yet to reach our goal but we are still on course.

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"BILINGUAL HIGHER EDUCATION IN NEW JERSEY:

THE STATE OF THE ART"

By: Estela Bensimon, Former Coordinator
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The Bilingual Higher Education Institute, aside from being the first time that we hold a program of such magnitude, makes a significant statement on the state of the art of Bilingual Higher Education in New Jersey. The scope and complexity of the topics that have been included for analysis and discussion demonstrate very effectively the leading role that New Jersey is playing in the field of bilingual higher education. Through this institute we are in a position to raise issues that will contribute toward a better definition of what constitutes bilingual higher education as well as the role that bilingual education should play within the system of higher education.

I view the evolution of bilingual higher education in New Jersey in three major phases. Using the institute as a landmark, it represents the closing of the first phase. The first phase of Bilingual Higher Education can be described as formative in nature, with an emphasis on the establishment and funding of bilingual higher education programs. When referring to bilingual higher education, I include teacher training programs and collegiate level programs using a bilingual instructional approach.

The creation, in 1976, of the Office of Bilingual Programs in the Department of Higher Education marks the beginning of the first phase. This office has contributed significantly to the legitimization of bilingual higher education programs. Unlike other states, this office is under the rubric of Academic Affairs instead of being housed with special programs or with federal grant programs. Since its operations are totally supported by state funds, it is assured a more permanent and stable status. Thus we can point to the existence of the office, although somewhat small and understaffed, as an indication of the Department of Higher Education's commitment to bilingual higher education. In the period covering 1976 through 1978, our efforts have concentrated in the development of bilingual higher education programs as well as in increasing the number of institutions that offer such programs.

While in 1974 there were only seven Bilingual and ESL teacher training programs, since 1977 we have fourteen programs in

operation that lead to certification in Bilingual and/or ESL education. Additionally, we have programs that offer specialized degrees with a bilingual education concentration such as in administration and supervision, guidance counseling, early childhood education, and migrant education. It is also important to recognize that our efforts to train qualified bilingual education teachers are not limited to the Spanish speaking. We have programs that are training Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean bilingual education teachers.

The number and variety of Bilingual Education and ESL teacher training programs that we have in operation throughout the state make possible career options and professional development opportunities that five years ago may have only been available through institutions that were Title VII recipients.

Growth is also evident in the number of programs that apply bilingual instructional approaches in degree and non-degree oriented areas. In 1974 there were nine programs, by 1977 the number had grown to twenty. We have bilingual programs offering degrees in business, in the health professions, and in the physical and social sciences. We also have institutions that have individual course offerings taught bilingually and in others, full time bilingual basic skills development programs. The development of collegiate level bilingual higher education programs in New Jersey appears to have been influenced by three factors: 1) Hispanic community pressure for greater access to higher education, 2) declining enrollment of traditional college-bound students, and 3) institutional commitment to serve the educational needs of a growing Hispanic population.

Because the prime movers to institutional action were community pressure and economic need, collegiate governing bodies have not embraced bilingual higher education as a legitimate instructional approach. Consequently, bilingual higher education, in some instances, has not enjoyed the same status as other programs.

Without doubt we now have a network of bilingual programs at the collegiate level that can respond to the educational needs and interests of a diverse population.

In retrospect it can be said that we have been successful in increasing the number and types of bilingual higher education programs offered through the two-year and four-year public institutions as well as in the independent sector.

An area in which we have not fared as well is in the acquisition of federal funds to supplement and expand bilingual higher education activities. I can think of three reasons for our inability to generate grant support to a level that is commensurate with our

The absence of a policy for bilingual higher education seriously affects programs utilizing bilingual instructional approaches. Because we do not have a policy for bilingual higher education, we are deprived of clear guidelines defining the purpose, scope, and funding of these programs. Without a policy and guidelines the programs are vulnerable - a situation is created whereby decisions on program structure, academic offerings, and allocation of resources is overly dependent on each institution's commitment to and understanding of bilingual higher education.

Setting policy for bilingual higher education will not convert the non-believers but it can provide a firm foundation from which to develop and expand our programs.

The initial steps to formulate policy were taken in February of 1979, when Chancellor Hollander appointed the Bilingual Higher Education Task Force. The Task Force is charged with making policy recommendations defining the appropriateness of bilingual education at the post-secondary level, making recommendations on program models, and the funding of such programs. It also has the additional charge of making recommendations on the form and content of bilingual and E.S.L. teacher certification standards.

The Task Force has a total of sixteen specific charges and it is scheduled to submit its final report in October, 1979. The Task Force will be making a series of recommendations addressing major modifications for Bilingual Education and E.S.L. teacher certification programs. We can expect that recommendations will be made to include, within the course listing presently required by the Bureau of Teacher Education and Academic Credentials, a set of uniform minimal competencies that all prospective bilingual education and E.S.L. teachers should acquire in order to be certified.

Accordingly, they have developed a prototype with competencies for undergraduate and graduate programs. The competencies are divided into the areas of general and personal, linguistic, cultural, pedagogical, research and assessment, and school and community relations competencies.

The Task Force is also considering recommendations that would require the establishment of minimum standards with respect to the resources institutions of higher education make available to bilingual education and E.S.L. teacher training programs. For this purpose they are delineating general guidelines on the administrative structure of programs, ratios of full time faculty versus part time faculty, ratios of faculty on institutional lines versus faculty on soft monies, and procedures for program update and evaluation on a five year cycle.

commitment: 1) lack of knowledge and experience in the federal funding arena, 2) little or no faculty release time for planning and writing grants applications, and 3) other extraneous political considerations outside of our control. To name a few of the federal grant programs that we are not tapping, or if we are, it is only minimally, I would include vocational education funds for post-secondary education, adult education funds, migrant education, FIPSE grants, NIE grants, and Title VII as well.

Since information on Title VII funding levels and patterns are more readily available and more accurately documented, I will use it as an example to illustrate my point.

A quick analysis of NJ Title VII grants for 1978-79 to implement teacher education training activities reveals that NJ generates $1,252.00 on the average, per person being trained through Title VII programs. On the other hand, New York receives an average of $2,806.00 per person, Massachusetts, $2,775.00 per person, and Connecticut, $3,627.00 per person. Of the 29 states and territories that are Title VII recipients, New Jersey's allocation is the second lowest based on the number of persons being trained. It is critical that in the year ahead we work together to overcome our difficulty in this area, otherwise opportunities to experiment with new approaches and develop our research potential will be seriously hampered.

I view the second phase of bilingual higher education as one that calls for the assessment and examination of program characteristics, program quality, and program effectiveness. Consequently, in the last few months the Office for Bilingual Programs has concentrated on planning a process to undertake a comprehensive and extensive review of bilingual higher education programs presently in operation. The data to be generated from the review will serve a number of purposes. Information on program variables such as curriculum offerings, staffing patterns, instructional approaches, assessment procedures, administrative organization, and funding patterns will be used as a framework to begin formulating a statewide comprehensive plan for bilingual higher education for the coming decade. Additionally, programmatic review will provide the Department of Higher Education with concrete data to develop a technical assistance plan to meet the needs of our colleges and universities. Thus, it will enable the Office for Bilingual Programs to initiate activities that are compatible with institutions' developmental needs. This new phase we are entering is critical to the future of bilingual higher education in New Jersey. Assessment of the present status of bilingual higher education will give us a data base from which to determine more accurately the demand for these services. The last phase in the evolutionary process of bilingual higher education is the formulation of policy.

Additionally, the Task Force has formulated preliminary recommendations addressing changes in the procedures for program approval as well as an increase in core course requirements for the bilingual education teaching endorsement.

For postsecondary programs utilizing a bilingual instructional approach, the Task Force has provided a rationale based on linguistic, pedagogical, historical, and legal grounds to establish the appropriateness of bilingual programs in the higher education sector. It has also defined terminology that is associated with bilingual postsecondary programs and has taken initial steps in identifying models for programs that use bilingual instructional approaches, including developmental and undergraduate and graduate degree oriented programs.

The Task Force's recommendations, when submitted in its final report, will be reviewed by the Department of Higher Education and those recommendations that the Department and Board of Higher Education determine as feasible and implementable will be incorporated into the NJ Statewide Plan for the 1980's.

I would like to make use of this opportunity to acknowledge the outstanding work of the Task Force and the commitment they have demonstrated to fulfill their Charge in a timely manner. The enthusiasm and dedication of the Task Force exemplifies the spirit of commitment, cooperation, and perseverance that characterizes those in our field.

The three phases I have discussed provide a general overview of the state of the art of bilingual higher education in New Jersey. Throughout my presentation I have attempted to weave a unifying theme representing the growing process of bilingual higher education in New Jersey.

We have cleared many hurdles in the past, the present and the future offer us yet new opportunities to build upon our past accomplishment. And therefore I challenge you as a community of scholars, teachers, resource personnel, and community leaders to work cooperatively with the Department to live up to our mutual expectations of the future.

137-138 is blank

"HIGHER EDUCATION IN NEW JERSEY: AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL REALITIES"

By: Dr. Gustavo A. Mellander
President
Passaic County Community College

As I prepared for this evening, as I reviewed the very extensive five and a half day program, as I thought of the persons who would be here, it occurred to me that our situation in New Jersey is not unlike the situation faced by Alice: Alice in Wonderland.

Although my comments will be based primarily on the New Jersey scene, I fear that our circumstances are very similar to the ones found in our neighboring states.

Higher education in New Jersey is in a very difficult and unsettled state.

In fact, New Jersey is a very difficult and unsettled state.

We can look forward to the following:

- Enrollments will undoubtedly fall -- very sharply and very shortly.
- Incestuous warfare will erupt for student enrollments.
- Some colleges, more than we like to believe, will lower standards in their mad scramble to maintain enrollments.
- Several private colleges will close. Some, if they are large enough, will become state institutions, despite present departmental denials.
- Universities, perhaps even the state university, will accept and lasciviously seek the type of students and adopt the types of programs for which they criticized community colleges ten years ago.

Some institutions, if they are brave enough and maintain a modicum of academic respectability, will eliminate outmoded and unnecessary programs. Teachers, even some with tenure, will lose their positions. (Temple University in neighboring Philadelphia already plans to release 26 tenured faculty members next year.)

The classic reaction to this will be a virulent growth of protective and sterile unionism.

The quality of administration will decline. The bright, the competent, the entrepreneurs will not put up with the pressures and the lack of psychic pleasures. More and more will say: "Who needs it?" Hacks and dullards will replace them. Individualism and academic freedom will suffer.

The preceding is the scenario - if all were to go well - but we know it won't. Therefore, it's going to be worse. But, why?

The public is disenchanted with education. We've done a pretty poor job in education. Students graduate from high school without being able to read or write. Vandalism, and not just in urban areas, is at an all time high. Too many college graduates are ill-prepared and hundreds of others have been trained for non-existent jobs.

Teachers are discouraged and all too many have become robots. They seem to come alive only on pay day. Too many administrators seek only personal aggrandizement and power. Bureaucrats, unlike the well-known saying, multiply and conquer.

What type of people do we attract to education? Why are so many of us so cowardly, so self-serving? Why are we afraid to speak out on any but the most inane of issues? Easily intimidated, fearful of losing our jobs, we sit around avoiding, but certainly not solving, problems. Our national motto is quickly stamped in our brains: "Don't make waves, don't rock the boat."

At a time when colleges need strong, dedicated academic administrators, we have the opposite. We have an army of pinched-nose, pencil-pushing MBA'S, CPA's and other alphabet word merchants.

Their academic souls have been displaced by pocket calculators. Balancing the books, keeping the unions at bay, juggling state and federal bureaucracies comprise the sum total of their existence. When did they last think about education? When did they last have <u>time</u> to think about education? When did they last read a poem?

I am reminded of the fellow who went into a high fidelity store. He was shown around by the salesman. At every turn, he was shown a larger and better hi-fi set. He could not make up his mind-- and the salesman in desperation said, "Don't you want a hi-fi set?" And, he said, "No, I don't want a hi-fi set. I want to listen to music."

All of us in education must try to remember what we started out to accomplish. We cannot speak of higher education in New Jersey without making mention of the Department of Education and the Department of Higher Education. But, I will try to remember that this is also a social gathering.

Those two Trenton-based bureaucracies grow stronger every year. Part of their strength is due to their own avarice and lust for power. Part of it emanates from rules, regulations and pressures beyond their control. The ever-present example of the Federal department of education is not lost on them. The avalanche of paper work from Washington and Trenton is not going to end. Jimmy Carter not withstanding, centralized over-regulated government is here to stay. You and I will live to see the day when our daily lives are regulated and managed by government.

When I was a college student I was assured that there would <u>always</u> be a surplus of teaching positions. Throughout my lifetime, I was told there would be a surplus of teaching positions. But obviously, the world has changed.

If you are interested in job security, become a government bureaucrat. Their sun is rising. It will not set during our lifetimes. It is not that those who work in bureaucracies are evil or stupid, although some of them are. It is not that they are congenitally insensitive or uncaring, although some of them are.

It's simply the nature of the beast - bureaucracy is extremely nonresponsive to human needs. The world is run by dull, bureaucratic clerks. The world is changed by energetic risk-takers, but it is run by dull clerks.

Before we all die, we will be able to say what José Martí said: "I have lived within the entrails of that monster."

It is clear that institutions of higher education are going to be stretched, pulled and some rendered asunder by forces beyond their control. Let me focus on one of the interests that unites most of us at this conference namely, bilingualism and the plight of Hispanics and other minorities.

Some of us, not unlike professional virgins, are living under false illusions. For instance, some of us believe that bilingual/bicultural programs are here to stay. We blithely believe that America has embraced us; that America has enbraced those academic areas with the fervor and the passion of a seventeen year old bride.

This is hardly the case. It may be true that some of you are fortunate (although the degree of fortune can be questioned later on) in that your institution has received a federal grant and, therefore, sexy new programs exist on your campus. We should remember that much of that funding is so-called "soft money." And that, by and large, power brokers, be they faculty or administrators, are not making a commitment to those programs. Therefore, financial and structural considerations are not being woven into the institutional fabric to guarantee the continuance of those programs once federal funds dry up, and the drought is coming.

In a few years, the story of The Emperor's Clothes may be appropriate in describing your programs.

New Jersey, the Garden State, is affected by Washington, D.C. And, what's happening there? To begin with, we have (regardless of his party label) a Conservative Republican in the White House. He may be a self-made millionaire, but he has forgotten that his fortune, and therefore his independence, was built on government subsidies. Some might even characterize the assistance he received as welfare. But he doesn't, and worse yet, he doesn't seem very sympathetic to the less fortunate.

The Black Revolution has sputtered to a halt. Those who benefitted from the struggles of the sixties have moved into the suburbs. Their children attend private schools. They are the new elite, they have arrived and, all too many of them, have forgotten their roots.

Much that is left of federal and state social action programs is flaccid, ineffective and, at times, counter-productive. The temper of the times is different. There are few effective political leaders. There are fewer yet effective minority leaders - certainly none with a national impact.

Socially oriented programs, be they federal or state, will come under increasing fire and criticism. To pretend that there was not waste and inefficiency in those programs would be foolish and wrong. To charge, however, that the programs were not needed and did not address legitimate needs is beyond foolishness. Yet that is the latest popular battle cry.

The barbarians are going to win the next few rounds. Minorities are going to lose ground. Zero new minority-oriented programs will be launched. Existing ones will be phased out or allowed to die.

America, Middle America, that ever powerful silent majority, has found its voice in Mr. Howard Jarvis.

Proposition 13 is not an erratic localized California odyssey. It is a national phenomena. Taxes are going to be cut. We are galloping toward a depression. The weak always suffer first. Government programs are going to be reduced.

If that is the national picture, then what of New Jersey? What of New Jersey that historically has spent less on education in virtually every category, than 48 or 49 of its sister states? What of New Jersey with its infinitesimal commitment to education?

An observer of New Jersey history once characterized New Jersey as a haven for tax-dodgers. He claimed that northern New Jersey was

peopled with New Yorkers unwilling to pay New York taxes. And southern New Jersey is inhabited by people fleeing Pennsylvania taxes.

That may change now that we have a State income tax. The future cannot be foretold with any degree of certainty. But change which impinges on and tries to change one's very character is always slow. New Jersey's character is set. It's pragmatic, blue collar, penurious and increasingly conservative. Some day New Jersey may be dragged "screaming and kicking" into the twentieth century. But, don't hold your breath.

As the nation drifts to the right, socially-oriented programs will be slashed. New Jersey will certainly reflect that trend. In fact, it might even assume a leadership role. We should not forget that Senator Clifford Case, a man with a quarter of a century of humane and caring service, was defeated dramatically by a callow, single issue, simplistic-minded young man.

It is not the first time we have experienced this in New Jersey. A few years ago, a reactionary congressman with few other qualifications than an acerbic tongue and a single issue, "No State Income Tax" defeated a progressive incumbent governor in the primary.

And, as the media has reported, the Ku Klux Klan is apparently alive and well in New Jersey. The Garden State is in full bloom.

I am not going to bore you by reciting a list of facts and statistics. We all use statistics - the very same ones - to prove our points, diverse though they might be.

New Jersey is the nation's most urbanized state. While suburban schools face plummeting enrollments, urban school districts keep growing. I need not tell you that urban schools are by and large minority schools. In my opinion, public education in New Jersey is an absolute mess. It's high school graduates are ill-prepared for the world and even less so for college. Yet they pour into our higher education institutions.

More than any other factor, be it teachers, parents, or the media, I blame the education leadership in this State. I believe it is weak and too easily influenced by political forces. I have been saying this for five years all over this state. Many of you have heard me speak on this topic, so I will not dwell on it. Besides, I have been dramatically unsuccessful. Why spoil a perfect record?

But, if education is in trouble in New Jersey, as it is nationwide, which segment suffers the most? Yes, the urban masses. And, I need not tell this audience who lives in Newark, Camden, Passaic, Union City, Paterson, Perth Amboy and Jersey City, just to name a few of our largest cities.

The level of frustration and the depth of impotency are almost insurmountable. Far too many urban teachers and administrators look upon their positions as "just jobs." They may not "punch in and punch out," but they are none the less disgruntled factory workers. They count the minutes until their work day ends and then rush to their finely manicured suburban homes. Do not ask for whom the bells toll. They toll for you and for me.

The needs of Hispanic students are not being met - and will not be met - given the prevailing philosophy and attitudes of those in power. Do not expect change to come either easily or quickly.

The educational bureaucracy and the political powers to be are not sympathetic to what they perceive to be "that problem" with "those people."

Bilingual education is widely misunderstood and fervently attacked. It is perceived as a lowering of academic standards. Bilingualism itself is feared as a harbinger of a separatist movement. It is a battle cry for the frustrated. It is an easy target. It is popular to oppose bilingual education - even if you don't understand it.

"By Jingo, my grandfather learned English--why can't they?" Well, to begin with, many grandfathers and grandmothers did not learn English. And they lived lives of screaming desperation, for they were trapped and never reached their true potential. Society failed them. Failed to provide the mechanism for them to learn English and become fully integrated into the American mainstream. Shall we commit the same error over and over again?

Or, will Hispanics overreact and go to the other extreme? Must we insist on offering our students more and more in Spanish even though they are destined to live in an English-dominant society? Will this really help them? How many of us would be attending this conference if we had not mastered English? Can we deny our children the same opportunities? I would not want them to undergo the same pressures and frustrations, but I would accept them again if I could be assured of their success.

In New Jersey, as is true nationally, minorities continue to fight among themselves. Blacks, who are just beginning to raise their heads above the water line, resent and resist the brown tidal wave. By word and by action, many blacks in positions of authority systematically exclude Hispanics.

The same can be said, and in my opinion must be said about Hispanics: many of them by word and by action systematically exclude blacks. And, as unbelievable and as senseless as it sounds, the internecine backbiting and outright jealousy and opposition among Hispanic groups is real, endemic and devastating.

Denied, for obvious reasons, the opportunity of exercising racial or religious bigotry among themselves, Hispanics have adopted geographic and national prejudice with a vengeance. Words which once evoked pride and pleasure are now spit out with rancor: Cuban, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Peruvian, and on and on.

I need not apprise this assembly of the many social and economic realities that have consigned and trapped Hispanics in such roles. But it's time for change, and such change must begin within us.

Hispanics and other minorities - and I include women in this characterization - must work twice as hard if they are to succeed. Our children should be told that. Whatever salubrious change is to come will have to be born and nurtured within our breasts. With dramatically few exceptions, those in power are not going to help us. They have no need to. They have reason not to. Expect even less of most Hispanics who have made it. They have undergone a metamorphosis. But they have not become butterflies, they have become W.A.S.P.S. They are the new wasps, with all of the self-centered bigotry and none of the charm of the old ones.

Although exaggerated and certainly not universal, for far too many Hispanics, government welfare is a way of life. Hispanics in America are developing a ghetto mentality, a culture of poverty. Most Hispanics do not want government doles. They want work and, more passionately, they covet a good education for their children. Hispanics should concentrate on improving the quality of education.

It is only through education that we, as Hispanics, will have the opportunity of reaching our true potential. And even then, given our day and age, an education will afford us only the opportunity to struggle. It will not guarantee us success.

Lord Acton once said: "Power corrupts; and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

I guess that's true - at least in most cases. But I am also fond of another quotation. It reads: "The lack of power also corrupts." And that's what we are - a powerless group of people. Since Hispanics are not in the forefront of the country's financial and business worlds, our only avenue to influence the course of events is the political one. The issues are there, but the leaders aren't.

It is obvious that we are speaking of power. If power cannot come to Hispanics through the rapid acquisition of wealth - and it can't - we must then turn to the political sphere.

Two ways of acquiring political power exist:

(1) A massive organized voter registration campaign and then a second campaign to ensure that Hispanics actually vote. In other words, to work within the system. That's been tried and it has failed. It is slow and cumbersome and, I fear, counterindicated. It laughs in the face of reality.

When a person registers to vote and when he actually votes, he is performing an act of allegiance, trust and confidence. He is saying: "I believe in the system."

How can we expect people who have been failed by the system to make such a statement?

It is unrealistic to expect Hispanics - and I speak of Hispanics in the Northeast - to adopt that route.

(2) The other avenue to acquire political power is through force. But force has its shortcomings. When you use force, you can be exterminated; you and your cause can be wiped out. History is replete with anarchists who gave up their lives by the thousands. Even professional historians have difficulty remembering their names or their causes.

But some anarchists, some revolutionaries have succeeded. And they have changed the world.

There isn't a person in this room who does not support or at least feel warmly towards one so-called revolutionary. It all depends on whether we were taught to respect and love Mr. X or whether we were taught to hate and fear him. (The names of Christ, Moses, Simón Bolivar, Martí and Washington come to mind.)

But let's get closer to our personal experiences. Let us speak of our lives. Did we benefit or suffer from the advent of Arafat, Fidel Castro, Eldridge Cleaver, Ho Chi Minh, Mao, Malcolm X or Martin Luther King?

How do we feel about these individuals? It's a very private and personal matter. Did you gain materially or grow spiritually because of one of these individuals? Or did you lose and suffer?

Your personal relationship with that individual determines your evaluation of him. Hero or villain. You tell me. Being a revolutionary isn't all bad!

And so we wait, not in Valhalla, but in Jersey City, in Camden and in Paterson.

The issues are there, the needs are there - the leaders aren't!

Until that leadership arrives and is accepted, Hispanics are doomed to languish as third or fourth class citizens.

But the day is coming - you can rest assured of it.

The gauntlet has been thrown. The torch is waiting. Generations yet unborn await our next move.

I hope that when the leaders appear, they will say clearly and without hesitation: "We are not asking for charity; we are asking for justice."

141-148 in here

"A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE STATE OF BILINGUAL POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION"

By: Dr. Rolf Kjolseth
University of Colorado at Boulder

Bilingual higher education is traditionally tied to elite bilingualism and as such it is socially very different from the phenomenon of collective bilingualism which Dr. Gaarder has addressed. I should like to emphasize at the outset that I generally share his views regarding collective bilingualism in the United States but, as I will be discussing elite bilingualism, the view I present will be quite different although not contradictory.

One of the many reasons why elite bilinguals are needed is the presence of collective bilingualism in a nation's population, for their needs can be met more adequately by relatively highly trained and paid bilinguals. However, will collective bilingualism persist in the U.S. or will linguistic assimilation to English dilute and destroy collective bilingualism? Specifically, to take the single largest speech community after English: will Spanish survive? The answer is both yes and no, each in a distinct sense.

No, Spanish will not survive any better than the other non-English languages which have come to these shores, following the pattern of linguistic assimilation to English monolingualism (or dominance) within three generations. Even in East Los Angeles with the benefits of a large ethnic neighborhood, proximity to Mexico, and continuing immigration of native Spanish speakers, the shift to English monolingualism from first (immigrant parents) to third generation (their grandchildren) is overwhelming. Spanish-speaking immigrants are not maintaining their language intergenerationally any better than other language groups.

Yes, nevertheless Spanish will survive - and mightily - as a spoken language in the U.S. and for a very simple reason: the greed of the economic and political policies of this country towards Mexico (and other Latin American countries). Only a truly national development policy in Mexico can come to terms with the problems which are driving its citizens north in a desperate search for survival. Yet the continuing economic and political pressures on Mexico are deepening these problems and guaranteeing a continuing flood of Spanish speakers into the U.S. Since the basic economic and political policies of the U.S. toward Mexico are not going to change, the tide of immigration will not cease and their exploitation on this side of the border will continue. Socially produced problems of a wide array will have to be addressed and, therefore, bilingual skills will increasingly be recognized as an asset and occupational edge for employment in many professions.

Such greed has two sides. On the one hand there is the "pull" stemming from the desire in both agriculture and industry for unorganized, depressed wage workers in the U.S. - for persons without effective civil rights unable to influence or control their working conditions or wages. On the other hand there is the "push", as exemplified by the greed of the transnational corporations, that are plundering Mexico and ruining its agricultural economy, displacing persons, and creating massive un- and under-employment. The best example of this is Ixtok I, the runaway oil well in the Gulf of Campeche which is literally a lethal threat to the entire Gulf of Mexico. With responsible procedures it would not have happened, but the drilling operation wasn't even following some of the most basic safety measures dictated by the oil drilling industry itself. Nevertheless, the U.S. thirst for oil - and the contracts to drill for it - continues unabated and most people in this country will continue not to know that it was a company founded by Governor Clements of Texas that produced this largest man-made ecological disaster in history. As a consequence, thousands upon thousands of Mexicans who depended upon fishing and derivative industries are being deprived of their livelihood and driven into the interior of the Republic in search of work, often to be turned to the north and the U.S. by lack of available employment. Naturally, the Governor of Texas will complain about these human arrivals, just as he complains about the physical arrival of oil on the Texas beaches. Naturally, he will deny all responsibility for both. The point is that the tide will keep coming.

As a result of our own greed we will continue to have a very large number of Spanish speakers amongst us, and the need to respond to these practical problems will be a continuing need. Bilingual education will be able to respond to these needs and politicians are going to <u>have</u> to understand that. Indeed they <u>are</u> beginning to get it. That is why there is still legislative support for bilingual education. However, there is no recognition that they are dealing with a set of circumstances that they themselves or our economy itself has produced or helped to produce. There is a tendency to pass the buck, and there are all kinds of self-serving characterizations about our "aid" to Mexico and Third World countries. Nevertheless, there is the recognition that large numbers of Spanish speakers are here.

I would like to address the matter of bilingual higher education and elite bilingualism, which is very distinct from collective bilingualism.

One of the productive features of bilingual higher education is its immediate contribution to the economy, for it provides new jobs. In fact, the expansion of the education system in the U.S. at all levels has traditionally been an arena in which members of differing ethnic groups have achieved upward social mobility. Education is big business and a very large employer; in fact, in most communities in the U.S., the school system has a larger budget and a larger personnel roster than any local enterprise. Therefore, when any group gains access to the personnel rosters of these educational institutions, it is engaging in promising and traditional behavior. It amounts to a

kind of affirmative action and can legitimately be pointed to as a plus for new programs which provide access for members of groups previously excluded from this occupational category.

Perhaps I am overly optimistic when I say that post secondary bilingual education is elite because, with the introduction of junior colleges and the community college movement, the social distance of the American university from the secondary school has been reduced or at least relativized. Here I am referring mainly to the public image more than to the actual situation, since the junior college has not proven to be a stepping stone between the high school and the university, as was originally intended. Very few persons attending junior colleges advance to the university. Many drop out and back into the junior college in a revolving door manner, with the final result for most being that they do not make it to the university but become convinced that this is their own fault for they have had, they think, a chance. As such, the junior colleges are not a stepping stone which actually brings the university closer to the reach of previously excluded groups. Rather they are an extremely costly system of co-optation to convince excluded groups that they themselves are to blame for their disadvantaged place in society. Therefore, while the public image of the junior college is that it brings the university closer or into a ladder-like continuum with the high school, the actual situation is still one of a chasm between the high school and the university.

Since the university is symbolically somewhat closer to secondary education, bilingual activities at the university level are subject somewhat to the taint that has stained bilingual education at the primary and secondary levels. As we know, at those levels it has been associated since its inception with disadvantaged groups, low socioeconomic, immigrant groups stereotyped as "ignorant."

Nevertheless, I will assume for the moment that the university could be conceived of as having a qualitatively distinct status concerned with categorically different purposes - prestigious purposes. The main purposes of the primary and secondary schools are basic kinds of skills or rather low functions; learning literacy, and initial socialization of the individual into public institutional life. By contrast, the university's purposes presumably have to do with humanistic pursuits - opening the world view of persons to one which is more ample. This process involves research and investigations, the discovery of new knowledge, and working on projects associated with the powerful and their interests. Therefore, I am assuming we can analyze bilingual related activities at the university level in a different context, that is, as activities which are addressing higher, more prestigious purposes. Indeed, we would be well advised to keep that front up; that is, to assume that this is the case and not stoop to associate too closely with the low tradition of bilingual education that has enveloped the primary and secondary schools.

Now, I have a problem with the vocabulary we use. Bruce Gaarder, for example, has pointed out in his writings that "bilingual education" is a misnomer. I believe his preferred term is "dual medium instruction program." This is certainly a much more adequate term for what we are discussing, since "bilingual" is a psychological concept and education is not a psychological entity. It is a social entity. It is an organizational structure. Therefore, "bilingual education" is a way of anthropomorphizing a social organization. It is like saying, "society speaks," or "the army tells us," not the captain or the sergeant.

I would like to propose that it might be useful to us not to talk about "bilingual education" at the university level, because this can mislead us into anthropomorphic and psychologistic ways of thinking. But there is another reason as well: I believe that as soon as we begin to talk about bilingual education, we immediately begin to think of bureaucratic packages. For example, if I were asked about the kind of "bilingual education" program we have at my university, I would point to the Title VII Doctoral Fellowship Program that the School of Education has for training teachers of future teachers in bilingual/bicultural elementary and secondary school programs. It's a package. They mailed it to Washington. It exists within the School of Education. It is supported almost entirely by Federal funds. All this seems a reasonable answer to the question about our "bilingual education program" at the university. The trouble is that this view, focused as it is on "the bureaucratic package," misses everything else that is going on related to the development of bilingual skills among students and faculty at the university. And, in fact, the doctoral fellowship program at my university is a good example of the Washington negotiated package: a balance of influence between the vested interests of the school of education on the one hand, and the vested interests of the Department of Education and its bureaucracy, on the other. The package is the result of the balance of powers. For example, since the grant proposal has to have a sponsor within the already established organization of the school of education, the initiators of the grant proposal have to strike a deal with one of the divisions, and while many wanted to have the money, few wanted to work for bilingual education. Finally, a division agreed to sponsor the grant proposal but at a price, namely, that the program adopt practically all the preexisting curriculum of the division - these being courses previously developed without any concern for either the development of individual bilingual skills or dual medium program needs. This was, so to speak, the "bride's price," and it was a very high price.

The consequence has been that most of the courses are at best only marginally relevant and there is little room left for the introduction of new courses. In addition, and most importantly, the program is a hypocrisy in the sense that while it is presumably there to develop dual medium instruction, it is itself a radically single medium program. They do not practice what they preach. There are a number of reasons for this, and in combination (for they reinforce one another) they produce a disaster. Most faculty members can't maintain a cogent argument in any target language about any substantive matter. Many students enter the program with very limited aural/oral skills and

practically no literate or reading and writing skills in the target language. And finally, liberal democracy is invoked to play to the common denominator which is English. The result is an officially authorized, publically funded, degree granting so-called "bilingual" program which is practically devoid of bilingual practices! "Theory" yes, practice no. Don't you have a program? Yes, we have no bananas today.

Incidentally, while the original negotiations were going on, it was planned that the new program would be coordinated and developed by a sort of trioka composed of a division within the school of education, plus the Spanish Department and the Chicano Studies Program from the College of Arts and Sciences. However, as negotiations went on, the ball got stolen and the Spanish Department and the Chicano Studies Program lost any effective role in the game. The result is a compartmentalized package, off in the School of Education.

If we are interested in those activities at the university which have the consequence of developing individual bilingual abilities, I suggest we not look for packages or programs, but rather for what I like to call "sapient practices," that is, socially organized practices which foment language use in two or more idioms. In this context of looking for any and all sapient practices tending to develop bilingual abilities in individuals, let's look university wide for what we already have, i.e., for all those activities which foster bilingual skills in the communicative repertoires of individuals.

When we investigate and survey the university in this manner, we will find that a broad array of sapient practices for bilingual development already exists.

One important example is the branch campus in another country which institutionalize the possibility for both faculty and students to spend one or more semesters in another country under the auspices of their home institution. Of course, the degree to which participants in such programs are actually subjected to the necessity of using the language of the country, and therefore the degree to which their skills in the language of the host country are actually developed is very variable. I have observed some of these programs abroad and often found them to be more reminiscent of the hermeneutically self-contained and parochial U.S. military bases abroad than universities. However, any sociolinguist can discover the social organizational characteristics of such programs which produce their failure and offer practical and effective organizational means by which such programs can be turned into immersion abroad programs which will powerfully boost the participants sapient practices for bilingualism. These organizational dimensions include such things as: design of recruitment, logistics of travel, living arrangements, type of counseling, and many other matters of everyday social organization for which there is really no categorical distinction between in and out of school activites. This is because it is the requirements for language-use in the entire round of daily activities which make the difference. Bilingual abilities are acquired in use and are born of necessity. Therefore, the design

of effective study abroad programs takes as its most crucial concern the design of arrangements for travel, living, eating, studying, relaxing, etc. so as to maximize the necessity for the use of the target language.

Consider this paradox: What radically distinguishes homo sapiens from all other animals is his capability for speech. In spite of what you may have read recently in the National Geographic, chimps don't chat with their homo sapien friends. Thankfully, the Sebeoks in a recent book have debunked this hoax, nurtured by our beauty and the beast fantasies, that species other than homo sapiens (us) can hold up their end of anything like a simple conversation. The capability of true speech is the superlative intellectual accomplishment of our species. Notice that this superlative intellectual accomplishment of the species, exemplified by the case of mother tongue acquisition, is also for all practical purposes a 100% accomplishment. There are no significant numbers of drop outs, no flunk outs or failures. Mother tongue acquisition is a fantastic success story and it involves the species' pinnacle intellectual achievement. By contrast to this success story, compare what might well be called the great disaster story of the foreign language classroom. Poll almost any set of graduates and you will find that almost without exception it is a story of great time, effort and pain with almost perfectly imperfect results: "Oh yes, I took three years of Spanish and finally got through it but I don't speak a word now."

In this direct comparison of the perfect success story of mother tongue acquisition with the perfect disaster story of foreign language instruction we must ask this: "Realizing that we are dealing in both cases with language acquisition which is in fact the forte as well as the hallmark of our species, how can our supreme capability be transformed into our great debility?" The answer can be simply stated: There are intervening variables. Stated otherwise, there's nothing wrong with the participants in the FL disaster; they are all homo sapiens, but the social drama itself which we normally call the typical FL classroom is not composed of SAPIENT practices. They are rather obtuse practices since they are cut off from the social requirements for language-use encountered by persons in life. Most FL classroom interaction patterns are simply unreal: nowhere else in the real world does one sit in rows chanting conjugations and talking in the metalanguage of grammar. Nevertheless, when the FL classroom is embedded in a surrounding social world where the language is called for unrelentingly, e.g., German for foreign students on a German university campus, then, because of what happens in and out of the FL classroom the whole can amount to sapient and not obtuse practices. However, when, as is most often the case, the FL classroom is a socially isolated and miniscule bit of time and space surrounded by a form of social organization calling everywhere for a language other than the target language of the FL classroom, e.g., French 110 in Hellems 215 from 10:00 to 10:45 MWF on the University of Colorado campus, then this little place and time is about all the language has in its favor. It is not an exaggeration to say that everything else on campus is, in effect, working against it. Only

this little time and place calls for French. All other times and places call for English. Under these circumstances of overall social organization, the class is the only context in which French is used. And under such circumstances it is particularly obtuse to choreograph unrealities. Would it not be sapient to attempt to choreograph this little time and place into realistically simulated settings? The disaster of FL instruction is overaccomplished. Understanding how this has artfully been overaccomplished must be the beginning of designing less obtuse and more sapient practices. Thus the FL classroom lost in a sea of English can be greatly improved, but in terms of time, cost and efficiency, it is eminently more sensible to send the classroom out into a reinforcing sea because classrooms can never effectively teach anything all by themselves. A classroom may get you started in learning something but it will never get you done. This has to be accomplished elsewhere through practical use in the real world.

There is one clear way by which great improvements can be made. In addition to revising the interaction rituals of FL classrooms, the participating students should be scheduled into a dual medium program covering substantive materials required for their degrees and for their occupational aspirations. In short, within a U.S. university the sapient practices for the development of bilingual skills are dual medium programs in which language is put in its proper place - as a means to other ends. The isolated FL classroom ritual takes language out of its proper place and treats it as an end in itself. This is a dead end. It must become a means to either higher education abroad and/or dual medium instruction at home. These are the only effective means for developing quality and functional bilingual individuals.

In reality, dual medium instruction is <u>the</u> solution. Unfortunately, it is not an actuality. While it is the way to go, it is actually very difficult to implement. This is not surprising. The university is a large scale, complex, bureaucratic organization. Tradition, habit, and vested interests all play a part in making it difficult to change.

Part of the resistance to change comes from the concern that developing truly bilingual abilities is too difficult - that it can't succeed. There are however many secrets to why some academic programs succeed while others fail. Perhaps the most important one I can tell you. It is this: teach what is being learnt elsewhere and then take the credit for the whole result. English teachers have been doing this for years. Although they may have taught you to read, you learnt it - if you learnt it at all - elsewhere and by the only means possible, namely by reading and reading and reading. It involved drug stores, comic books, swapping with friends and all sorts of activities outside of school.

There is a corollary: the secret to failure. Simply undertake to teach something which is nowhere being practiced and learnt elsewhere. If no reading goes on outside of school - and remember that in a normal routine school day there is almost no time for reading -

then functional illiteracy can be the expected result of great and unyielding efforts just like our isolated FL classroom.

A practical recommendation follows from this. It involves recruitment for and selection of persons into a dual medium program. If one wants to succeed one should place a very strong positive value on individuals who are already bilingual and caught up in settings and activities outside of school where the marked language is established as the language of use. This recommendation involves two things not usually done now: a) it places as much or more value on the marked language as it does on the unmarked language of English, and b) it proposes that the sociolinguistic organization of one's life outside of school is a relevant and legitimate criterion for selection into the university. In fact this latter criterion has the practical effect of transforming what has traditionally been seen as a deficit (e.g., non-English speaking family background) into an asset thereby advantaging for legitimate academic reasons, a previously disadvantaged group, while transforming what has traditionally been considered an advantage (English speaking family and neighborhood) into a rationally understood disadvantage.

Essential in this understanding of how programs can succeed in producing effective bilinguals is the perspective which views all of the sapient practices (all of the occasions of language-use) both in, and out of school as a whole which will produce the final success or failure.

Naturally, persons occupy different statuses, come from differing backgrounds, possess differing degrees of ability in various skills in differing languages, and are involved in varying sets of activities and dissimilar sets of kin and friendship networks.

Recognizing this, it logically follows that much of our planning for a successful set of sapient practices must involve what could be called orchestration, that is, tailoring a set of sapient practices to the individual capabilities of students within the context of the actual social organization of their daily language use patterns. This could be established and monitored economically by means of self-report language diaries which take into account the whole range of formal and informal everyday activities. A successful set of sapient practices is essentially a dual medium ecology of language: where, in the course of one's daily round, does one use which language about what topic with whom? This could be a tremendous research undertaking if one were to undertake a whole university in this manner, but one can have students do it by keeping a language diary. Students could then meet, not necessarily with teachers perhaps as with counselors to analyze what space they were covering, what activities they were engaged in, what bases they are not touching, what kinds of sapient activities were available but not being tapped, etcetera, and then begin to plan a set of activities tailored to meet the individual's specific dual medium needs.

Now, I believe dual medium sapient practices - or bilingual education - is very practical and needs to be promoted on a political level. There are numerous possibilities and opportunities here because in fact the university faces two problems at the present time. One is the difficulty in recruiting students. Students with bilingual abilities offer a new population to draw upon and not, incidentally, a way of protecting our FTEs. If we institutionalize arrangements which justify recruiting those who already have certain bilingual abilities, then I think we will be able to serve our own interests in terms of declining enrollments. Another major problem is placing people once they have graduated. What is the rationale for producing sociologists if there is no employment for them once they graduate? I think we can make a fairly strong factual case for the increasing employability of bilingual graduates and thereby justify our traditional academic pursuits in the new dual medium mode.

Many of the things that I have mentioned, particularly with the study abroad program, have weaknesses too, but the important point is that we know what some of these weaknesses are and how to address them. For example, the biggest problem with American students abroad is that they form subcultures of their own which insulate them from coming into contact with the host country language. For example, at Stanford in Tours, France, the American students live in a building by themselves. By the time they leave that building to go to the student cafeteria in the university, they leave in a bunch of four or five. When that group gets to the cafeteria they form a line - a segment of the line - and when their segment gets through the line with their food and goes to a table they become the dominant language group at that table. The result is an English speaking table in a French speaking university in Tours. The problem is to get them apart. There is no immersion until they are separated. However, there are ways through organization to accomplish this end. As a point of departure it is important to take into account where and with whom these students are housed. Such arrangements would foster greater opportunities to come in contact with the host country language.

Immersion in a second language and culture does produce psychological problems for the people who are thus deprived of the use of their mother tongue for an extended period of time. Nevertheless, there are ways to help persons deal with these problems so that they can tolerate it longer. As I mentioned earlier, many of the suggestions I have made do have their weaknesses, but we also know ways to improve them. Furthermore, if we are interested in being able to develop, train and educate persons with bilingual abilities we have to be very specific as to what we are doing it FOR. I do not think that we should fall into the literary tradition of simply saying that it's for "general education". There is the humanistic tradition in the university, but there is also the occupational side. Development of bilingual abilities for what!? For example, if it is to be for a secondary school teacher of geology, then there are already some priorities which one can pinpoint in a matrix that will have to be dealt with effectively - sooner and more adequately than others. What is essential to the cake and what is the frosting?

On the other hand, if the person's occupational goal is to be a community worker at the interface between the middle class bureaucracy and the members of a deprived economic group, then there are other kinds of skills that have a higher priority. If individuals develop competence to do the kinds of jobs that they want to do, then the likelihood is that they will do them well and they will be proud of doing so. Nothing develops pride better than competence. The worst thing of all is to have a program which emphasizes pride and provides no competence. I believe we can have programs at the university that are very effective in producing these kinds of targeted objectives; they can be very effective, but it will be by drawing upon existing resources within, around and outside the university. These we have hardly yet begun to tap.

"THE POLITICS OF BILINGUAL HIGHER EDUCATION"

By: Dr. William Milan
Hunter College
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In the beginning...

I can hardly believe that we are gathered here discussing the relevance, the need, and the desirability of Bilingual Higher Education. Supposedly, we are at the peak of human civilization. Yet, if the founding fathers of Academia could see us now, they would turn in their graves. From its very beginnings, the university was intended to be a multilingual and multicultural community of scholars devoted to the pursuit of universal knowledge. How is it that mankind's advances in civilization have resulted in the loss of such intellectual wealth? This is a question that we should be ashamed to ask. An even more shameful question would be to inquire as to why we must make a case for Bilingual Higher Education on behalf of ethnolinguistically different groups, when the distinctive features of the great scholarly guilds of the Middle Ages, from which the universities later developed, were precisely the inclusion of foreign scholars in their faculty, and their multinational enrollments. Those were the days in which the overriding principle of quality higher education was diversity, rather than uniformity. Suddenly, we do not feel that civilized anymore.

The twists and turns of history often require changes in the roles of institutions. The university originally began as a kind of forum for the exchange of knowledge which was intended to train the clergy beyond the traditional monastic curriculum. However, research continued to be carried out in the monasteries, where the church's priceless libraries were contained. It was not until the various scholarly guilds gained royal and ecclesiastical recognition, that they began to consolidate and acquire their own physical plants and research facilities. Throughout the Renaissance, especially during the Reformation, the secularized university became the center for philosophical and scientific inquiry into issues pertaining to politics and religion. In spite of government persecution, and the exploits of the Inquisition, academic freedom prevailed. At last, in spite of kings and popes, an autonomous community of scholars, actively researching and teaching and owing loyalty to the truth alone, was a reality.

Higher Education: Synthesis of the American Experience

American higher education did not live through these glorious years of academia. The first pre-revolutionary war college, now Harvard University, was not founded until 1636, and then only for the training of clergymen. As higher education progressed with

the assistance of churches, private interest groups, and occasionally the state, the functions of the American university became more diversified. Training in secular subjects became popular and research kept pace with academic interests and talents. With the advent of state-sponsored higher education, the university assumed yet another role as a resource institution for social action. Certainly the goal was praiseworthy and quite rational. After all, the pursuit of knowledge required money, and universities were too large and too costly to make it on their own. Since the pursuit of knowledge was desirable, the state would assist in this regard. Conversely, state financing of higher education would provide this rare commodity at a lower cost to a larger segment of the state's population. But supporting the pursuit of knowledge per se, or providing such an opportunity to more people was not all. The universities constituted the largest aggregates of learned men. Who better than they could be entrusted with the task of training qualified professionals, who upon graduation could gain access to better employment opportunicies, make more money, pay more taxes, and provide services and products that would enrich the free enterprise system. Furthermore, both training and research activites could be oriented and supported in those areas which would serve the interests of the state. For example, in minerals-rich Indiana, this meant having one of the best Departments of Geology in the world. Similar cases may be observed with agriculture in the very fertile southern states, and with engineering, in heavily industrialized Delaware. But the role of the univeristy as an institution for social action was not legitimized until the 1960's. Awakened by the horror of the Vietnam War, and enlightened by the ideals of the Civil Rights movement, the consumer, rather than the provider of higher education sought to use the social action potential of the university to the fullest extent. Students revolted everywhere. The university became, once again, an open forum for the debate of social issues.

This renaissance in American higher education served to sensitize policy-makers regarding the true interests of the people. American academia opened its doors to the poor and the needy. We may call this "the turning point." This is when American higher education went federal.

Several factors contributed to this phenomenon. First, both President Kennedy and President Johnson were strong supporters of higher education. Their administrations provided considerable financial assistance to universities in the forms of direct grants and student aid programs. It was also the peak of the cold war, and technological competition with the Soviets was the order of the day. While the major scientific research contracts in such areas as defense, space aeronautics, telecommunications, and information processing were still awarded to private sector giants such as IBM, ITT, and TRW, the initial screening of research issues and methodologies in these areas was carried out by the universities at a lower cost. It is also important to bear in mind that both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations were very much involved

in domestic policy as well. They were, therefore, very much in need of research in such areas as health, education, and the social sciences. These areas, however, being of lesser priority, did not warrant the expense of private sector research. Consequently, the universities became the recipients of substantial research grants to pursue these scientific inquiries. In addition to quality scholarship, they also provided considerable credibility. The foremost works in the study of linguistic diversity on a societal scale - Joshua Fishman's Language Loyalty in the United States, (1966) and Bilingualism in the Barrio (1971) were both products of the research conducted during this era.

A second factor to consider is the war in Vietnam. For the first time in history, the United States was fighting a war without the support of its intellectual elite. In addition, the most unfortunate victims of the Vietnam War were not the Vietnamese, but young American males of college age who, in the prime of their lives, were called upon to give up their opportunity to receive a college education to fight and die in someone else's war. Due to its sensitive nature, the Vietnam War set the stage for an intellectual confrontation between the universities and the federal government - a confrontation that would later develop into a broadly-based dialogue on all issues of public interest, from foreign affairs to social justice.

A third factor, perhaps the most critical of all, was the rise of the Civil Rights movement. Inspired by the teachings of Martin Luther King, Jr., and further ignited by his martyrdom, the plight for equal opportunity swept through college campuses from coast to coast with all the makings of ideological revolution. Ironically enough, the universities themselves were among the most serious offenders of social justice, showing limited minority enrollments and even less minority faculty, neglecting to address minority issues in their program curricula, and failing to make available their resources to the community at large. Thus, for the university, preaching social justice meant more than a mere articulation of ideas, it also required a great deal of conceptual and structural self-reform - the kind of self-reform that the university could not afford to carry out with its limited financial resources. Federal assistance became a necessity. I am not suggesting that American higher education was ever terribly eager to serve the needs of minority groups out of sheer altruism. But if the university was to respond to the needs of the times, there was simply no other way to turn. Furthermore, the end of the college boom was getting closer, and the Nixon administration's approach to aid for higher education was not institutionally based, but student oriented. In other words, the kind of direct aid to institutions that characterized the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, was sharply reduced in favor of financial aid directly provided to the student in the form of educational opportunity grants, scholarships, and loans. Most of the recipients of this kind of aid, were, of course, economically disadvantaged minority students. Therefore, if the universities were to maintain operational enrollments, their doors

had to be opened to these economically disadvantaged, federally supported clientele. Federally sponsored programs for the underpriviledged mushroomed into networks of remedial curricula, student aid bureaucracies, ethnic studies programs, native language instruction programs, and other supportive services. The metaphor of the mushroom applies not only to the shape in which they grew - in all directions - but also to the manner in which they grew - with very little light. The beginnings of the university's self-reform were as poor as expected. So poor in fact, that even the notoriously insensitive military bureaucracy was able to recognize the seriousness of the matter. The Veterans Administration imposed a regulation which required universities to account for the number of federally supported students in each course, and banned the use of monies provided under the G.I. Bill for registration in courses where the federally-aided student enrollment exceeded 85% (Ostar, 1977). Thus, although the federal government was willing to support programs to benefit the disadvantaged, it also believed that veterans had to be protected from these programs. No attempt will be made here to explain this double standard, but the policy implications are clear: what is acceptable for some, is not good enough for others.

There has been much progress in the area of special programs for minority students at the university level during the past decade. Today, there are model programs and even entire institutions where the special needs of the minority student are addressed far more adequately than they used to be during the early days of open admissions. The challenge that the university must face in the quest for social justice is not merely by taking in and trying to educate some minority students. This is only a superficial structural solution for what is actually a deep substantive problem. What the university needs to address is not the disadvantaged students per se, but the societal factors that produce them. This will require two major tasks: (1) substantial research must be undertaken to identify the social ailments that promote ethnically identifiable, socio-economic disadvantage, in order to assist policy makers in the development of appropriate remedies, and to better advise the university's own programmatic development; (2) training programs that will produce qualified professionals to deal with these problems in the outside world, need to be designed and implemented. It costs nothing to articulate these tasks, but it will cost billions of dollars to carry them out. Of course, the university does not have these funds. Thus, it turns to the federal government for assistance.

Immediately the concern arises that if the university is not going to assume financial responsibility, it will not be the one to identify the problems, establish the priorities, and delineate the parameters for action. For those of us who are involved in Bilingual Higher Education, this represents a very serious situation. We are trying to respond to a major social need, yet the bulk of the available financial resources comes with strings attached.

In order to fully understand how to succeed in these endeavors, it is important to comprehend the political process through which federal priorities are set and funds allocated; second, to study the university's organizational behavior in an effort to evaluate its fitness to participate in that process, and to meet its social action responsibilities; third, analyze the major discrepancies between the federal political process, the quest for social action, and the university's organizational behavior to help isolate the major problem areas; and fourth, propose some strategies for the development of a mutually beneficial relationship between the federal government and higher education that will enable them to deal with the special needs of ethnolinguistically different populations in a cooperative and constructive manner.

Higher Education and the Federal Political Process

In reviewing the federal political process, we must first acknowledge, that, no matter how small the federal contribution to higher education may be, it will always be greater than what the federal government is constitutionally obliged to provide. In fact, by virtue of the Tenth Amendment, education becomes the sole responsibility of the state. Since education is not an area of federal responsibility, it will never be considered a national priority. Its chances of competing against defense, energy, foreign policy, transportation, agriculture and economic concerns are virtually none.

The federal government's system of policy development involves its three branches. Only Congress is vested with the power of making new policy and allocating funds for its implementation. The Executive branch implements these policies in accordance with the particular management style of the administration in power. The Judiciary, in turn, is responsible for interpreting these policies and determining the legal appropriateness of their application. Ordinarily, whenever we refer to federal policy on Bilingual Higher Education, we focus on the various agencies of the executive branch that deal in this area, i.e., Title VII's Office of Bilingual Education, the National Institute of Education, Title IV's Office of Equal Educational Opportunity, the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, etc. (NABE, 1977). There is a tendency to ignore, however, the wheelings and dealings of the legislative body from which these agencies get their mandate. Joshua Fishman's revealing expose of the politics of Bilingual Education presented at the 1969 Georgetown Round Table, should have been enough to alert us in this regard (Fishman, 1970). The legislative process is complicated. Congressional bills are not drafted by Congress as a whole. They are initiated by individual members, and then referred to the appropriate House and Senate Subcommittees that deal with the legislation's scope of work. These, in turn, judge their merits, define their legislative intent, and draft the legislation itself. Both the House and the Senate's Subcommittees must agree on every single word of the legislation, before it can be voted on by both houses. Immediately the concern arises as to the extent of the Subcommittee members' expertise in the areas in

which they legislate. This concern is warranted, since subcommittee appointments are not always made on the basis of the individual member's ability to understand and work on the issues, but on the basis of their seniority and political strength. Furthermore, each member of Congress is only accountable to his/her own individual constituency. Consequently, the special interests of that individual constituency must, out of necessity, become the overriding criteria of all legislative decisions. Situations in which Subcommittee members are called upon to work on legislation which is irrelevant to and at times even at odds with their chances for re-election are not uncommon. And we would be very naïve to believe that there is such a thing as legislative objectivity. How objective can a Senator from Texas or Alaska be when it comes to legislations that regulate the oil industry? Probably no more objective than a Senator from one of the agricultural heartland states when it comes to approving the sale of grain to the Russians or the Chinese, and surely no more objective than a Congressman from New York City in the area of Housing and Urban Development. Assuming that an education-related bill survives the subcommittee stage, it will then go to the floor for debate. There it will be subjected to an even closer scrutiny and it will be forced to compete with an even wider range of interests and priorities. It is at this particular stage of the legislative process, that lobbying becomes critical. Every vote in Congress counts, our chances of obtaining favorable results will depend directly on the extent that we can influence those votes. Major league lobbying in the style of Tongsun Park is definitely beyond our financial capabilities. The best we can hope for is to provide members of Congress with adequate information, and perhaps bring on the pressure of the available organized constituencies that share our interests. But Congressional approval of legislation is not the end of the legislative battle. The approval of a congressional legislation, and the actual appropriation of funds to implement it are two different processes. So it is possible for a member of Congress to serve two masters. He/She can vote for a legislation in principle, but still vote against the allocation of funds for its implementation. It is this second stage that should concern us. Having laws in the books only, does not solve our problems. And when it comes to the actual distribution of the available dollars, that is when we shall face the toughest competition.

Even after legislation is passed and funded, the problems are still far from resolved. The implementation of Congressional policy by the executive branch is not exactly a smooth and wrinkle-free process either. Very often executive mismanagement results in the total defeat of the legislative intent. Also, the actual distribution of funds carried out by the various agencies of the executive branch is not free from political pressures. The pressure comes in two ways. It comes directly from the organized constituencies themselves, and indirectly by way of congressional oversight and through the not always discreet pressure that individual members of Congress continue to exert on these agencies on behalf of their electoral constituencies. Anyone who has written a proposal for

any type of assistance in the area of Bilingual Education should be at least familiar with this process. Note, by the way, that all of the funds available for Bilingual Higher Education are discretionary, i.e., the institution must apply for them and obtain them in competition. Perhaps this would not be a bad moment to take a quick look at the books and see who is getting the money, and how much. We will not get into the area of research or service programs coming out of N.I.E., Administration of Children, Youth, and Family, Office of Equal Educational Opportunity, etc. Of course, these monies exist, but very few institutions of higher education have a chance to get them. Let us look at the Title VII monies provided for the training of bilingual instructional personnel at the university level (NCBE, 1978). In 1978, a total of 11 million dollars was distributed among 102 Bilingual Higher Education training projects serving 4,423 trainees, in 29 languages and in 27 states. The average grant per institution was $108,823. What was the actual cash distribution by region? The Northeast took the biggest slice of the pie: $4,431,788. This constitutes the sum total of grants received in Vermont, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. In the West, between the states of California and Washington alone, there is a total disbursement of $3,670,888. The Southwest, that is Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, received a total of $2,290,465. The Mid-western heartland states, Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, received $1,893,995. The large allocation of funds to the Northeast is justified, we are of course talking about seven states, all of which are in serious need. Notice, however, that the total appropriation for the Northeast is only about a million dollars more than that of the West Coast, which, for the purposes of this distribution, consists of only two states. The allotment of funds for the Southwest is about half of what was received by the Northeast, but the $2,290,465 dollars distributed in the South-west went to three very scarcely populated states. What else do these figures tell us? California, with its highly sophisticated network of state colleges and universities, accustomed to fighting for funds at the state level, thoroughly trained in the art of grantsmanship, and with the support of its very cooperative congressional delegation pulls $3,496,468. New York, with its well organized and efficient office of Bilingual Higher Education providing technical assistance to institutions of higher education throughout the state, and with its undeniable need, takes a cut of $3,159,157. Texas, with its multiple clusters of non-English speaking populations, and its extensive experience in serving them, gets $1,372,000. Illinois, the crossroads of American ethnolinguistic minorities, with its formidably funded state bilingual education law, received $1,012,906. New Jersey, by the way, got a total of $591,090. The largest institutional grant, $236,165, went to the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque which operates degree programs leading up to the A.A., B.A., and M.A. degrees (no doctoral program), and serves a population composed of Spanish, Navajo, Pueblo, and Apache speakers.

Finally, to complete this review of the federal political process, we should acknowledge the power of the Judiciary. To this day, we have not had any major judicial experiences with Bilingual Higher Education. But from what we have already learned in Lau v. Nichols, Serna v. Portales, Aspira v. New York, and Bakke v. Regents of University of California; we know that the courts are powerful, and that any decision, no matter how small the issue, and no matter how isolated the case, can set a national precedent. Let us therefore be ready for it when it happens.

The University and Government Interaction: A Structural/Behavioral Problem

Now that we have a capsuled picture of the federal political process, let us examine the university as an organization, and evaluate its fitness to participate in this process and to carry out social action endeavors. In the interest of fairness, let us provide equal time to the two leading schools of thought on university organizational behavior: those who perceive the university in bureaucratic terms, and those who perceive it as a collegial community of scholars. Regardless of the university's institutional capacity, its organizational self-perception is what will determine its ability to interact politically and to fulfill its designated role in the broader society.

Looking at the bureaucratic model, we see a university organized as a hierarchichal bureaucracy, where the process of change is of minor concern, and conflicts are viewed as abnormal manifestations which must be controlled through bureaucratic sanctions. Such a university has a unitary view of its social structure and is totally integrated by its formal bureaucracy. Its basic organizational foundations come from classical formal systems, and its views on decision-making are rationalistic, based on formal bureaucratic procedures. In terms of goal setting and policy, its emphasis is on policy execution.

The collegial university, on the other hand, presents the image of a professional community, where the process of change is also of minor concern. As a matter of fact, change processes are viewed as abnormal, totally out of place in a community of scholars who have a unitary view of social structure as well. Its basic theoretical foundations are in the human relations approach with its emphasis on professionalism. It also purports an image of shared collegial decision-making. We are not very clear on its goal setting and policy mechanisms, though the emphasis is probably on policy formulation rather than on policy execution (Baldridge, 1971).

Now let us look at the discrepancies between both of these models and the federal political process and the university's social action role, and identify some of the problem areas. However, let us first acknowledge that, as popular as both of these models may be, neither one of them is a true reflection of reality.

As I mentioned earlier, it is not so much what we are, but what we perceive ourselves to be, that will determine the extent to which we can secure resources to fulfill our social responsibilities. The bureaucratic model presents a highly formalized conceptualization of power. As such it neglects to account for non-formal manifestations of power, such as mass movements, illegitimate threats, and academic expertise. It tells us a great deal about structure, but it says nothing about the university's dynamic processes. This formal structure is limited to the here and now, and it does not provide for change over time. It also deals with policies after the fact, that is, at the execution stage, instead of providing a process for policy formulation (Baldridge, 1971). Such a university is likely to impress both the government and the society at large with its apparent managerial efficiency. However, its fossilized structure will make it more resistant to change, and less likely to engage in its own capacity-building to cope with change. A substantial amount of the funds that such an institution receives, will be used to maintain its bureaucratic structure. The programs that it develops, will be expected to fit within already existing structures. There will be little or no room for innovation.

The collegial university is almost a metaphysical myth. Shared collegial decision-making simply does not exist at many levels of university authority, especially at the higher ones. It is also less likely to accommodate the need for change, since the dynamics of collegial consensus fail to deal with conflict entirely (Baldridge, 1971). Without doubt, its image of academic professionalism will be highly respected by government authorities and the society as a whole. But its academic exclusiveness is not necessarily the best approach to social action. The funds that such an institution obtains are more likely to be invested in building up its own academic reputation, rather than on external community outreach. Its programs are more likely to emphasize theoretical, rather than practical concerns.

Neither of these two types of institutions is well equipped to succeed in the federal political process nor to maintain a high degree of credibility with the community it serves. Neither bureaucracies nor collegia are set up to carry out an aggressive lobby. Neither bureaucracies nor collegia allow for the kind of change processes required to accommodate the needs of Bilingual Higher Education, nor offer much room for innovation, nor maintain operational mechanisms for the assessment of social needs. Neither bureaucracies nor collegia have sufficient contact with the outside world. Since neither one allows for the recognition and treatment of their own internal conflicts, their capacity to understand and address social problems that arise from conflict, such as those addressed by Bilingual Higher Education,is at best negligible. And as change is simply not expected in either case, neither the bureaucracy nor the collegium have a good reputation for effective comprehensive planning. So much for our chances of success in the

federal political process or in our quest for social action.

From Organizational Myth to Operational Reality

The greatest irony of both of these paradigms is that, not only are they ineffective, but they are also quite unreal. Anyone of us who has worked at an institution of higher education knows very well that the university is actually a political system, where the processes of change are primary concerns, not minor ones; where conflict is normal and serves as the key to policy analysis; where the social structure is not unitary, but pluralistic, fractured by subcultures and divergent interest groups both social and academic. We can best understand the theoretical foundations of the modern American university's organizational behavior, in terms of conflict theory, interest group theory, and community power theory. Decision-making at the modern university takes place through negotiations, bargaining, threatening, give and take, and political influence. And after the democratization of the university in the late 60's and early 70's, there is considerable emphasis in policy formulation rather than on policy execution.

My friend and colleague, Ana Villegas from C.W. Post, has shared with me the work of J. Victor Baldridge (1971) on power and conflict in the university. Baldridge views the university's organizational structure as a political system with features such as the ones just described. In proposing some strategies that will promote a constructive working relationship between the federal government and the institutions of higher learning in a joint effort for social action, I would like to introduce Baldridge's political model of university organizational behavior as a step toward institutional re-definition. If we perceive ourselves as the political system that we are, our chances for more effective participation in the political process and for meeting our social action goals will be greatly increased. A political model will first take into consideration the social context factors, that is, the social conditions that promote the formation of divergent values and interest groups. Next it will seek to identify the mechanisms for interest articulation, that is, how do the various interest groups bring pressure to bear. Then comes the legislative transformation, the manner in which multiple pressures are translated into official policy. Then come the policies themselves, that is, the institutions's commitment to certain goals and values. Finally, we have the actual execution of policies, followed by the new political conflicts that the implementation of such policies generate, and the way in which these provide continuous feedback to the various components of the paradigm (Baldridge, 1971).

Conclusion

This is the university in which we work today. As will be noted, the strategies and tactics that we need to use are already contained within, since the university, like it or not, is only a

evidence of our political knowledge and strength. Each and every one of us has had to fight several political battles in our respective campuses. All we need to do now is to band together and externalize that political drive beyond the ivy-covered walls. The quest for Bilingual Higher Education, and the social reform ideals we pursue depend on it.

microcosm of the broader society. What we need to do now is to drop the bureaucratic and collegiate fronts, turn the internal political structure outwards, and take our place in that broader political system of which we are part. We have had experience in identifying the social conditions that promote the formation of divergent values and interest groups on our campuses. Let us apply that experience to the outside community through an on-going assessment of social and educational needs. We are thoroughly familiar with the mechanisms of interest articulation since we use them every day. It is not unusual for us to make our views known in faculty meetings and faculty surveys, yet we have very little to say once we leave campus. Coalitions with other interest groups are not uncommon. We have often allied ourselves with student organizations and ethnic clusters. Why then are we so resistant to establish external affiliations with groups like Aspira, the National Task Force de la Raza or The Puerto Rican Congress? We have learned to mobilize, to bargain and to lobby, through our faculty unions. Why do we fail to do the same on a national scale through professional organizations such as the National Association of Bilingual Education, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Modern Language Association, Linguistic Society of America, and the newly-formed National Association of Colleges and Universities with Bilingual Education, which is so particularly suited to our needs? We know how to apply pressure. We have no qualms about applying pressure on appointed university officials, yet we neglect to apply pressure on those members of Congress who we ourselves have elected.

Legislative transformation is not new to us either. We all participate in committees, draft university by-laws and program regulations, vote in faculty senate elections, and write position papers. We also know who defends and who opposes our interests on campus. But how many of us know our Congressman or Congresswoman? When was the last time we checked the voting record of our elected representatives in Washington to see whether or not they favor Bilingual Education legislation? Is the person that we elected defending or opposing Bilingual Higher Education? Have we let them know how we feel on these issues? When was the last time we volunteered written testimony for a legislative subcommittee hearing?

We are always analyzing, judging, and criticizing university policies in terms of their conception, their interpretation, and their execution. Why don't we do the same with regards to federal policies which are relevant to our social mission? Who could do it better than ourselves? We teach, we advise, we debate, we present, we write, we publish. All of these means can be used as strategies for conflict articulation and policy feedback.

I am confident that the future of Bilingual Higher Education is in good hands. The fact that we are gathered in this forum is

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171-172 in Book

"THE DYNAMICS OF IDENTITY CONFLICT OF HISPANICS IN THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION IN AN ASSIMILATIVE CONTEXT"

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Statement of Problem

In the last two decades the theory of "cultural pluralism" has gained significance as a heuristic device to explain socio-cultural dynamics in American society. This change from the "melting pot" and/or "Anglo conformity" theoretical view of ethnic minority assimilation into American society/culture, is related to various factors, among which is the breakdown of traditional social and cultural norms in American society (Gordon, 1964). The disintegration of the family as the principal conveyor of socio-cultural values, the alienation of the Church as the provider of existential meaning, the devaluation of the Protestant work ethic, and the loss of faith in the highest political leaders and consequently, in the political system, have given way to the "cult of the self". This "break with the past" and subsequent emphasis on "doing your own thing" has created social fragmentation with numerous groups dividing themselves along interest lines, as for example, the Black rights movement, Hispanic rights movement, women's rights movement, gay rights movement. In addition, it has created many psychological conflicts centering around identity.

With the devaluation of traditional cultural and social norms, the individual has lost the points of reference by which she defined herself in relation to the world and to other people. Consequently, in contemporary American society it has become increasingly difficult for people to answer the question: Who am I? Where do I belong? - It is this problem of identity and its concomitant character disorders which characterizes the personality of our times.

Within the above-mentioned context, the plight of the migrating ethnic group becomes more complex. As opposed to the past, the expression of the group's cultural heritage is tolerated to a greater extent. Their right to equal opportunities to retain their language and culture is recognized, at least to a greater extent than before. However, as the group begins to integrate into American society, it adopts ethnic identity as its symbol of unity in order to achieve greater access to power. Their ethnicity becomes the means through which they are identified as an interest group, thus separating and distinguishing this group from others. From this perspective, cultural and social conflicts between groups tend to be viewed as conflicts of interest, with each group struggling to get a greater

"share of the pie". Thus, ethnicity assumes not only a cultural function, but also socio-political-economic functions.

While existing conditions in American society appear more favorable for the integration of ethnic groups, the psychological conflicts for the ethnic individual inherent in the complex pattern of interaction should not be overlooked. The problems associated with uprooting and adaptation to a new environment, especially the identity crisis, have not ameliorated. Instead, it is my contention that the problem of identity for individuals of ethnic groups may be more complex as a result of conflicting tendencies to retain ethnic differences, yet assimilate into the host society. Consequently, the purpose of this presentation is twofold: (1) to identify some of the social and cultural values that have the potential to create identity conflict for a contemporary United States ethnic minority group - the Hispanics; and (2) to analyze the nature of such conflict.

Definition of Concepts

For the purpose of clarity throughout the paper, it is necessary to define some concepts that are essential in the development of the theme.

Ethnic minority group refers to a type of group contained within the national boundaries of America and which is defined or set off by national origin (Gordon, 1964). This designation by national origin serves to create a sense of peoplehood, in this case, Hispanic identity within the United States. It is also the manner in which the general American public recognizes the identity of a group that makes up part of its population.

Culture is the ways of behaving and the ways of doing things which are passed from one generation to the next through formal and informal methods of teaching and modeling. It consists of "prescribed norms of conduct, beliefs, values, and skills, along with the behavioral patterns and uniformities based on these categories."[1] In essence, culture is the sum total of all the ways of believing, thinking, feeling, and behaving which make up a person's way of life: it is "the expression in a variety of human forms of the meaning that things have for a person, the reason she is alive, where she is going, and how she is going to get there".[2] Culture aids in distinguishing Hispanics from other ethnic groups in the United States. It provides the Hispanic individual a frame of reference from which to derive a sense of self.

The social structure of a society is defined by "the set of crystallized social relationships which its members have with each other which places them in groups, large or small, permanent or temporary, formally organized or unorganized, and which relates them to the major institutional activities of society, such as economic and occupational life, religion, marriage and the family, education, government, and recreation."[3] The major characteristic of these "social relationships" is that they show a repetitive pattern and

subsequently are, to some degree, predictable.

Culture and social structure are closely related in that it is the norms and values of the society which determine the types of social groupings and the kinds of social relationships which its members create. Through the interaction of social groups, cultural values undergo change and modification (Gordon, 1964).

In the framework of culture and society, as a member of a social group interacting with others according to commonly accepted norms, the individual defines her identity - she knows who she is, where she belongs, and what her life and actions mean. Through her identity, the individual derives a sense of purpose that is manifested in her social interactions within the larger society.

Assimilation is characterized as "the adoption by a person or group of the culture of another social group to such a complete extent that the person or group no longer has any characteristics identifying him with his former culture and no longer has any particular loyalties to his former culture."[4] Gordon (1964) further refines this definition by describing two steps within the process of assimilation: a) cultural assimilation, and b) structural assimilation. Cultural assimilation refers to the ethnic group's change of cultural patterns to those of the host society without large-scale integration into the social institutions. Structural assimilation involves the ethnic group's integration into, as well as identification with, the host society. Through Gordon's typology of assimilation it is possible to determine the degree to which an ethnic group or individual has become assimilated into the host society.

Comparison of American and Hispanic Cultures and Social Structures

In order to determine which aspects of the American culture and social structures have the potential to create identity conflicts for the Hispanic individual, it is important to compare these groups in terms of their cultural values and social structures. This comparison will be undertaken by using the heuristic device of ideal-type models. Ideal-type models are theoretical constructs derived from observations of the general patterns of behavior of a group. Consequently, it is understood that, within each group, deviations from the described models exist. Nevertheless, these ideal-type models may be used for the purpose of general intergroup comparisons.

In terms of cultural values, I will compare Hispanic and American culture in five categories:

1) the concept of the individual;
2) religious orientation;
3) attitude toward work;
4) philosophy of life;
5) concept of time.

175

CULTURAL VALUES

	HISPANIC	ANGLO-AMERICAN
CONCEPT OF THE INDIVIDUAL	1. Deterministic view of the individual where culture and social structure highly constrain individual expression; worth of the individual is in direct relation to his position and personal contributions to the extended family.	1. Individualistic view of man; worth of the individual is related to his achievements in the occupational structure and his attainment of material goods; independence and assertiveness are highly valued individual characteristics.
RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION	2. Catholicism is the predominant religious orientation and its precepts dictate that life on earth is not important since the human being's ultimate reward is in the afterlife.	2. Protestantism is the predominant religious orientation. Individual accomplishment on earth is valued as a means of achieving salvation.
ATTITUDE TOWARD WORK	3. The interpersonal aspect of work provides meaning of work; the intrinsic reward of work is derived from personalistic dynamics; purpose of work is strongly tied to the support or improvement of the standard of living of the extended family; informality is valued.	3. Impersonal efficiency and effectiveness are highly valued as means of obtaining economic rewards; purpose of work is to provide the individual with socio-economic mobility; reliability and punctuality (formality) are highly valued; individual is responsible for his lot in life.
PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE	4. Idealism; there is also fatalism in which fate is viewed as having control over the individual.	4. Pragmatism; there is also optimism in its view of the individual as having control over her environment.
CONCEPT OF TIME	5. Past and present orientation.	5. Present and future orientation.

In terms of social structures, I will compare Hispanic and American social structures in six categories:

1) Family;
2) Church;
3) Division of labor;
4) Institutional organization;
5) Education;
6) Government.

SOCIAL STRUCTURES

	HISPANIC	ANGLO-AMERICAN
FAMILY	1. The extended family serves as a socially integrating agency which both supports the individual and limits individual choices; the family tends to foster the individual's dependency; break with family ties is not part of the norm.	1. The immediate family unit tends to foster achievement motivation in the individual; assertiveness and independence are reinforced as means of achieving success.
CHURCH	2. The Catholic ethic. Individual is not held responsible for behavioral outcomes; Church determines code of behavior; good deeds, not accomplishments on earth, determine the individuals fate in the afterlife. This may be characterized as a passive orientation.	2. The Protestant ethic which promotes achievement motivation; individual is held responsible for accomplishment on earth that leads to salvation; individual is held responsible for behavioral outcomes; this may be characterized as an active orientation.
DIVISION OF LABOR	3. Low degree of division of labor; holistic perspective of the role of the individual in relation to her work.	3. High degree of division of labor; specialization is rewarded; there exists a compartmentalized view of the role of the individual in relation to her work.
INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION	4. Personalistic criteria characterizes the functioning of organization; authority is exercised on the basis of position.	4. Bureaucratic structure stresses impersonal efficiency and effectiveness; organization is characterized by formalized procedures specified in rules and regulations; authority is exercised on the basis of knowledge.
EDUCATION	5. Philosophical orientation; there's emphasis on the development of thinking and on holistic conceptualization; there's limited access to education.	5. Pragmatic orientation; there's emphasis on training for the occupational structure and on the development of specialized expertise; there's widespread access to education.
GOVERNMENT	6. Authoritarian forms of government.	6. Democratic form of government.

In terms of culture, the Hispanic individual who migrates to the United States may encounter value conflicts with American culture and society in any of the areas previously described.

For example, the discrepancy between the American value of individualism and the Hispanic's family-centered concept of the individual may create tension for the Hispanic in that she is perceived as driveless and dependent by American standards. As such she is pressured into adopting American values, such as independence, assertiveness, which will promote survival within the social structures of American society. Thus, the individual is caught in the dilemma of assuming behavior patterns consistent with American values which may disrupt close-knit family ties from which the individual derives her sense of self or she risks becoming a socially marginal person.

The American occupational structure and the educational and governmental institutions serve as another example of potential areas of conflict. These are organized based on cultural values of pragmatism, effectiveness, and efficiency. As such they stress systemmatic, impersonal relationships that are consistent with the cultural value orientation. On the other hand, the Hispanic individual is more attuned to value personalism, idealism, and informality in institutional and interpersonal relations. This clash in values may create conflicts for the Hispanic individual who must function within the American social structure often at the expense of her self-esteem which stems from her socio-cultural frame of reference.

It is important to note at this point that the specific socio-cultural factors that create identity conflicts may differ when one uses social class as a variable. Thus while a number of ethnic individuals may experience identity conflict related to intercultural differences, the particular factors that play a role in such conflict may vary greatly from one social class to another. In this paper, I have attempted to identify some of the factors that need to be further studied within the context of specific social classes.

As was mentioned earlier, American adherence to the "melting pot" or "Anglo conformity" concepts of assimilation offered two choices to the ethnic individual. She could either become "Americanized", that is, adopt the values and behavioral norms of American culture, or remain marginal in the American social structure. The pressure on the ethnic individual tended to be greater toward conformity since it represented the most viable means for socio-economic survival. However, the identity conflict inherent in the assimilation process presented, and still presents, a problem for the ethnic individual, including the Hispanic.

Dynamics of Identity Conflict

Prior to the change in social policy toward a pluralistic conception of American society, Hispanic individuals experienced an identity crisis in the process of cultural assimilation. The answers to the questions: Who am I? Where do I belong? - were conflicting because identifying with Hispanics entailed rejection from the host

society while identifying with Americans involved the loss of a traditional support system. "Frustrated and not fully accepted by the broader social world he wished to enter, ambivalent in his attitude toward the more restricted social world to which he has ancestral rights, and beset by conflicting cultural standards, he develops, according to the classic conception, personality traits of insecurity, moodiness, hypersensitivity, excessive self-consciousness, and nervous strain".[5] These "personality traits" are a function of an ambivalent self-identity.

Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance[6] may be used to explain the psychological dynamics of ambivalence. Cognitive dissonance is the psychological state that results when an individual has conflicting beliefs which cannot be reconciled. This conflict is manifested in inconsistency between a person's beliefs and her behavior. Since cognitive dissonance creates tension for the individual, she strives to reduce it by: a) changing one of her beliefs in order to attain consistency with her behavior, or b) changing her behavior in order to attain consistency with her strongest belief. Thus, the individual's goal is to reduce tension through consistency.

With the shift to a social policy of cultural pluralism in American society, the direct pressures to acculturate (cultural assimilation) have diminished. Consequently, the identity conflicts that result for the Hispanic individual under a strict assimilationist policy may be expected to subside. However, it is my contention that this is not the case.

The changes which have taken place in American society in the last two decades have fostered greater recognition and acceptance of individual cultural differences. The individual's right to her cultural heritage (including language) is viewed as her expression of self, as her manifestation of authenticity. As such, the ethnic individual is encouraged to seek and reaffirm her identity in relation to her group. At the same time, the ethnic group exerts pressure on the individual to assume positions of authority within the social structure in order to promote the welfare of the group. Thus, the ethnic individual must both retain her group identity and adopt the cultural values and behavioral norms of the American system in order to function effectively within the social structures.

This "double bind" situation may also create an identity conflict for the ethnic individual in that two forces are pulling her in two distinctly different directions. Additionally, the individual is compelled to integrate these two irreconcilable tendencies. For the Hispanic individual the identity conflict may be expressed as follows: "I feel Hispanic, but I act American".

Under both social policies - "melting pot" and "cultural pluralism" - the ethnic individual may experience identity problems. The essential difference lies in the particular social factors that create the dynamics of conflict: in the first example, rejection from the host society and the need to expand beyond the ethnic group play major roles; in the second, pressure to retain ethnic group identity and assimilate into the American social

structure are key elements. In both cases, conflict helps to bring about change in the individual and in the group.

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1. Gordon, Milton, Assimilation in American Life, Oxford University Press, New York, 1964, P. 32.

2. Fitzpatrick, Joseph P., Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971, P. 22.

3. Ibid., Gordon, M., P. 31.

4. Rose, Arnold, Sociology: The Study of Human Relations, A.A. Knopf, Publisher, New York, 1956, P. 557.

5. Ibid., Gordon, M., P. 57.

6. Arkes, Hal R., & Garske, John P., Psychological Theories of Motivation, Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, Monterey, California, 1977, P. 237.

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"THE CULTURAL COMPONENT OF BILINGUAL TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS: THEORIES AND PRACTICES*"

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Although those of us who talk and/or listen on occasions such as this have academic credentials and positions, put scholarly headings on our papers, and use audible footnotes to support our points, when the topic is Bilingual Education, none of us are totally objective. And some of us even get downright enotional about the subject at times, one way or the other.

There are a variety of rationales for Bilingual Education, including some that might appear to be mutually incompatible (although for some reason proponents don't seem to argue much with one another over these): some people support Bilingual Education believing it provides a more efficient way for children to master the dominant language and gain access to the dominant culture--to assimilate ultimately; some support it as a boundary-maintaining mechanism that allows children to retain their linguistic and cultural 'roots', their ethnic integrity and identity--to resist assimilation; some believe in Bilingual Education as an instrument for the maintenance of diverse cultural traditions; some believe in Bilingual Education primarily as an instrument for social and cultural change; some believe in Bilingual Education as a civil right, a requirement for equal education opportunity.

We tend to be more emotional than objective about these arguments because they are not mere assertions which evidence might clearly prove to be true or false, but rather manifestations of beliefs and values which we accept or reject at a much deeper level.

The reasons many people are strongly opposed to Bilingual Education, and may feel profoundly threatened by it, are also manifestations of deeply embedded beliefs and values. Oddly, often these are the same as those of the proponents. The same beliefs in equality of educational and economic opportunity, for instance, leads some to oppose Bilingual Education for fear children in such programs will not learn as much English and will therefore not have equal opportunity in an English-dominant society, or because they feel separate programs based on language differences are akin to the "separate but equal" programs based

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on racial differences, which are not too far removed in our political and educational history. Financial arguments, whether too little or too much is being spent on Bilingual Education, are disagreements on budget priorities, and are thus manifestations of relative community and national values.

We have such beliefs, such values, together with all of the knowledge and the rules for appropriate behavior which we share with others because we are human--these are culture. And we can never be entirely objective about culture. This is the paradox for the anthropologist: one's culture is the lens, and the filter, through which one must perceive and interpret the cultures of others; we thus risk distortion, but without this essential of humanness, we could not begin to understand other beliefs, values, or social behaviors.

As I think this discussion of arguments for and against Bilingual Education illustrates, culture is not an optional component of Bilingual Education, whether or not we add the term 'Bicultural' to the title of our programs. Nor is it an optional component of the programs which train bilingual teachers. Whether consciously recognized or not, culture is a controlling force in education. Our task is to explore how the positive and humanistic aspects of this force can be maximized in Bilingual Education, how it can be used to further our goals and enhance the opportunities of both teachers and children to develop to their full potentials, and how the potentially distorting effect of cultural conditioning (which can result in stereotyping and in prejudice) might be minimized through our teacher-training content and procedures.

In the summer of 1974, the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) sponsored a conference which brought together specialists from a number of different linguistic and cultural groups to draw up Guidelines for the Preparation and Certification of Teachers of Bilingual/Bicultural Education.[1] To date, these have been quite widely accepted by both training institutions and credentialling agencies, at least theoretically, and I would like to make use of several of the statements of teacher competencies which relate specifically to culture for the purposes of this discussion. In each case I would like to explain what I think is meant by the competency statement, how the presence or absence of the competency might be realized in terms of classroom practices, and how I think a teacher education program might contribute to its presence in bilingual classes.

In order to place these culture-related competencies in the total framework of teacher education, and to show their interrelationship, I have attached a chart which lists all of the competencies specified by CAL, followed by columns which represent possible components of bilingual teacher education programs: I. General; II. Culture; III. Language (A. Home Language and B. Second Language); IV. Classroom Practices; and V. Assessment. An 'x' in a component column indicates that I feel responsibility for that competency should be at least partially assumed by that part of the teacher education program, whether in-service or pre-service. All of those with an'x' in column II, therefore, should be addressed in the cultural component of bilingual teacher education.

The CAL Guidelines begin with a list of personal qualities which teachers in Bilingual/Bicultural Education should possess, and then follow with more specific guidelines which are designed to meet these necessary qualifications and describe the various academic areas considered essential in teacher education programs. It is my opinion that some of these qualities probably cannot be taught. One, for instance, is 'A genuine and sincere interest in the education of children regardless of their linguistic and cultural background.' Such interest can be stimulated, it can be enlightened, it can be nurtured--but I don't know how it can be taught. Another general quality that I question our ability to teach, at least within the time and credit restrictions of our degree programs, is 'A thorough knowledge of and proficiency in the child's home language'. In this case, I think the teacher or candidate probably must already have considerable proficiency in the languages of instruction as a prerequisite to training in Bilingual Education, given the level of linguistic proficiency which is (or should be) required to teach in a language, and given the time it takes to reach such a level. But what about culture? The general personal quality which is relevant in the CAL Guidelines is stated as 'Cultural awareness and sensitivity and a thorough knowledge of the cultures reflected in the two languages involved'.

Clearly knowledge about culture in general, or about any two or more cultures in specific, can be taught by various means; just as clearly, knowledge about a culture does not insure acceptance of people, of students, who are members of that culture. On the other hand, as research has shown, the requirement cited in a number of other sources (including many job descriptions) that bilingual teachers be bicultural does not insure either that teachers will be accepting of students from the same cultural background as they are.[2] Knowing a culture natively does not automatically enable one to teach it, or to be sensitive to it in teaching.

The general personal quality requirement, then, is for teachers who combine cultural awareness, sensitivity, and knowledge. What does this entail?

First is an understanding of the relationship between language and culture, between bilingualism and biculturalism.[3] In the learning of a native language, that language is both part of the native culture being acquired in the process of children's enculturation, or socialization, and a primary medium for the transmission of other aspects of that culture from one generation to the next, such as values, beliefs, and rules for social behavior. If speakers remain in contact with their native culture, their native language proficiency expands to include expression of the new concepts they develop, the new domains in which they function, and the new role-relationships in which they participate. This intrinsic relationship of language to culture is so 'natural' as to operate at an unconscious level for most native speakers, furthered by informal means more than by formal education, and by family and peers more than by professional educators.

When English is learned as a second language in countries such as the United States where it is the language of the dominant culture, and

where proficiency in English is essential for full educational, political, and economic participation in the larger society, acquiring the language involves much more than merely learning English phonology, syntax, and vocabulary, for it must be able to serve most of the same functions as English does for the native speaker: medium of instruction, expression of concepts and feelings, participation in expanding social domains and role-relationships. Thus second-language speakers must be able to function according to the rules of the English-dominant American culture. While the native of a culture acquires these rules quite naturally and unconsciously in the process of enculturation, the process for students acquiring a second culture is acculturation, the addition of a second set of rules for behavior which may coexist beside the first, replace them, or modify them. One possible result of this acculturation process is loss of the native culture or the merger of cultures until they are indistinguishable, called assimilation, and their society a 'melting pot'. Perhaps one of the most important contributions of the movement for bilingual education in the United States has been the valuation of another possible result of acculturation: the selective maintenance and use of both cultural systems, or biculturalism.

The nature and extent of students' cultural competence is thus just as important as their linguistic competence for determining appropriate level and content for instruction in bilingual/bicultural education. It is now beginning to be recognized that students who enroll in bilingual programs in the United States have varying degrees of proficiency in the two languages of instruction. Cultural competence will also vary. There is no reason to assume, for instance, that the Spanish-dominant students have acquired the culture of such Spanish-speaking countries as Cuba, Mexico, or Spain in the process of acquiring Spanish as their native language. They indeed have acquired a culture, but it might well be the beliefs, values, and rules for appropriate behavior common to the dominant American society; in this case, being 'bicultural' would involve learning about their ancestral cultural heritage, which is analogous in many respects to learning about the culture associated with a foreign language.

Most probably, except for students who have immigrated directly from Spanish-dominant countires, Spanish-speaking students in the United States will have been enculturated into the minority sub-culture of a bilingual community. It is important that bilingual educators recognize the validity of these students' culture; comments have been made that students who have not acquired the culture of the dominant American society or the culture of the dominant society of a Spanish-speaking country have no culture at all. These comments are often from the same people who feel that students who do not speak a standard variety of English or Spanish, or who code-switch between them, are 'alingual'. These views are based on ignorance and misunderstanding of the nature of language and culture, and are potentially as damaging to students' self-concept and identity as those which forbid the use of their native language at school.

While recognizing and accepting the culture which students bring to school is important, however, the fact remains that the same reasons exist for learning the dominant American culture as for learning English:

it is necessary for full participation in the larger American society. The comparison with adding a second language is a useful analogy to continue, for adding a second culture has many of the same implications for both theory and methodology.

First, to understand and facilitate learning, teachers should know what it is that is being acquired, and how it compares with their students' native cultural system. Unfortunately, cultural rules have often been recognized only in their breach, and when the consequences have been dramatic or traumatic enough to the second culture learner to be of note--a kind of error analysis. More humane, if it can escape the lists of cultural stereotypes which are presently in circulation (i.e., present vs. future orientation, passive vs. active coping styles), would be a contrastive analysis to facilitate the identification of potential cultural conflicts for students and the development of instructional means and materials to teach to these points.

Having awareness, sensitivity, and knowledge about culture also entails being able to recognize cultural influences on oneself and others. All of us know that we have culture, too, but seldom do we recognize that this culture explains much of our own thinking and behavior. It is precisely because our culture is so much a part of us that it controls us at a subconscious level, unless we are trained to be conscious of its influence.

In general, two kinds of training are usually recommended for both pre-service and in-service programs, which I will discuss in more detail with regard to specific competencies. These may be labelled:

a. Formal Training

   This includes classes, workshops, and seminars. The type of courses which may be offered includes Cultural Anthropology, which contributes to notions of cultural relativity, and the Ethnography of Communication, which teaches methods for observing and describing communication events in different cultures, and is very relevant to describing classroom interaction.

b. Field-Based Training

   This includes observation, community visitation, collecting and interpreting data which will be relevant not only in the development of awareness and sensitivity, but also will be applicable to relevant curriculum development and appropriate classroom practices.

Cultural sensitivity training does not mean just T-grouping and "I'm O.K., you're O.K.", but learning to observe cultural patterns and to respond appropriately; it does not just deal with attitudes, but involves observational training and changes in unconscious microbehaviors.

The cultural competency which is stated as ability to 'respond positively to the diversity of behavior involved in cross-cultural envi-

ronments' first requires recognition of the range of diversity in a class, and then an understanding of which differences are individual in nature and which differences are represented because of differences in group membership among the students. There are some students who raise their hands to ask questions or volunteer information, for instance, and some who don't. The teacher must first recognize the differential in this behavior, and then understand which behaviors in the class may be attributed to individual personality traits and which to the differential values and rules of appropriateness which different cultures place on self-assertiveness.

Most teacher education programs which claim to teach 'interaction analysis' are deficient with respect to this competency because they fail to recognize that such assumptions as what behavior constitutes a 'positive response' by a teacher to a student are themselves culture-bound and will not be the same for members of diverse cultural groups. Direct eye contact with the student may be positive, but it may be interpreted as aggressive or humiliating; smiling may be positive, but it may be derisive; touching may be positive, but it may be embarrassing or repugnant. Singling a student out for attention of any kind would not be considered a positive teacher response by a number of minority groups in the United States.

The teacher education program must teach teachers how to find out what is considered a positive response from the cultural perspective of their students; the existing, canned observational check lists for this and other teacher and student behaviors are themselves ethnocentric and often misleading. The skills to be learned are those of sensitive observation and interpretation within a framework which is more culturally relativistic.

The competency which is stated as the ability to 'develop awareness in the learner of the value of cultural diversity' means teaching that to be different from the dominant culture isn't wrong, but also has the goal of developing relativistic feelings about the dominant culture, and about other minority groups as well. Talking about differences is of little value here. Teachers are crucial as models; what they value and respect is usually valued and respected by their students as well.

The most useful teacher education experience in developing this competency is probably practice in adapting lesson plans to groups with different cultural characteristics and to provide for culturally heterogeneous classes. Teachers should be frequently reminded that even a group which is relatively homogeneous linguistically may have a wide variance in cultural identification and experiences.

The competency stated as ability to 'recognize both the similarities and differences between Anglo-American and other cultures and both the potential conflicts and opportunities they may create for children' includes the very real problem of recognizing valid cultural differences. The primary hazards in this area are either that teachers will believe that all people are the same (a pernicious form of ethnocentrism which refuses to be responsive to cultural differences, or views their existence as a threat or evidence of inferiority) or that stereotypes will be taught or apparently justified.

Bilingual teacher education programs often include Ethnic Studies courses, which may purport to teach about cultural differences, but these may not be adequate for several reasons: when lists of cultural traits are presented, there may still be no recognition of how and when these traits influence behavior; the content of such courses may be concerned primarily with 'surface' culture elements, such as foods, holidays and national heroes rather than with the 'deep' culture level differences which are more important for learning and teaching; furthermore, the dominant Anglo-American culture, which must form part of the competency of the bilingual teacher, is seldom addressed. I once taught in a bilingual teacher education program which required a course entitled Cultural Foundations of Education, which supposedly addressed itself to the development of this competency, but the following list of stereotypes which was taught as characteristics of 'disadvantaged' or other 'culturally different' children shows that course title alone cannot be trusted when judging program relevance or adequacy. In this case, these characteristics were listed in the textbook used in the course:

1. Their parents are less likely to belong to or attend church.
2. They do not share the principle of cleanliness. "Water costs money or effort if it must be carried from an outdoor pump."
3. They do not understand the principles of saving.
4. They cannot put reason before emotion.
5. They are freer and more social in their expressions of sex.
6. They have not learned that doing one's duty and living up to the expectations of others pays off.
7. They believe the future is non-existent.
8. They believe education is an obstacle course to be surmounted until they can go to work.

The content of courses in this area should include study of the nature of stereotyping so it will at least be recognized, and study of its effects on communication and on the self-image of the group being typed.[4] It is also important to contrast areas where there are likely to be real differences (such as in family role-relationships, inventories of valued 'things' in the home environment, and concepts of 'disadvantaged' and 'successful') and to discuss the potential conflicts and opportunities of different cultural perspectives in specific situations.

Lists of cultural traits are not to be entirely avoided, but scrutinized for ethnocentric bias. Some examples of dominant American cultural influences may be found in material prepared for training for foreign service personnel, and profitably adapted for educational purposes. The following are excerpted from material prepared by the Human Resources Research Organization (HumRRO):

1. Individualism--the belief that each person is a distinct entity, and ought to assert and achieve independence from others.
2. The idea that there is usually a best way of doing something, which should be determined and then followed.
3. Reasoning in terms of probability.
4. The tendency to make comparative judgments.[5]

I would like to repeat at this point that cultural sensitivity training does not mean just T-grouping and "I'm O.K., you're O.K.", but learning to observe cultural patterns and to respond appropriately; it involves observational training and changes in unconscious micro-behaviors.

In the area of Instructional Methods, the CAL guidelines state that bilingual teachers should demonstrate an ability to 'develop an awareness of the way in which learner's culture should permeate significant areas of the curriculum'. A number of workshops on 'culture' are regularly offered by local and state education agencies as part of their in-service training programs, and presumably are an attempt to meet such a competency requirement as this. Such workshops typically begin with a sound, although very abstract speech on the importance of culture which emphasizes that culture is values, beliefs, etc. But this is often followed by totally inadequate sample lessons which are supposed to illustrate how to apply cultural awareness to classroom practices: lessons on heroes of Mexico, on making maracas out of gourds, or cooking tacos, Indian fry-bread, or Chinese rice-boats. Even more frequently in workshop scheduling, the abstract speech on culture is followed by a 'cultural event': a class from a local school performing a folk dance, and perhaps also singing a song. Such superficial treatment of culture is totally inadequate for both bilingual classes and for bilingual teacher education because it does not 'Develop an awareness of the way in which learner's culture should permeate significant areas of the curriculum', and may in fact interfere with the acquisition of such a competency.

While holidays, special foods, and ethnic costumes may indeed reflect cultural values and identities, concentrating on them in teacher education is misleading in two major respects: both teachers and students may get the idea that this is culture, and feel no need to learn about and apply the deeper, far more significant aspects of culture; furthermore, the 'culture' performed in such events is likely neither part of the culture of the home nor of the dominant society, but foreign to both. Such practices do not further one of the major goals of bilingual education, which is to help students develop a more positive image of themselves as members of their family, community, and the larger society.

Culturally appropriate content might indeed include a contrastive study of food consumption, for instance, but of regular patterns as well as special occasions: What is eaten? How often? What rules are observed during meals regarding age and sex roles within the family, the order of serving, utensils used, appropriate verbal formulas (how, and if, one may request, refuse, thank, etc.)? What values are associated with food and with eating rituals?

To insure appropriate cultural content in any area, teachers must develop skills in using community resources, and in teaching students to collect and report information from their own environments in a positive way. Cultural content for bilingual teacher education should also include developing sensitivity to what should not be discussed in

school, what questions should not be asked, and what student behaviors should not be required. Taboos and restrictions are also culture-specific, as is what is considered sacred and what profane. Developing and applying such awareness is essential if the culture of the home is to really be respected by the school. Even unintentional or well-meaning violations can result at best in student embarrassment or confusion, and at worst in causing the student to reject the traditions of his home.

The last competency I would like to address here is the ability to 'utilize effective classroom management techniques, for optimal learning in specific situations'. When cultural differences in control and motivation are not understood, learning may be seriously inhibited. Immigrant students accustomed to rigid class discipline, for instance, including those from many Latin American countries, often react to an American teacher's relaxed teaching style as an undisciplined situation and respond by talking excessively or other 'misbehavior', creating a steroetype response from their teachers that they are 'undisciplined'. (This is even reported by college level instructors.) The use of competition to enhance motivation does not work with many groups, especially when students from one group are asked to compete among themselves for an outsider (the teacher); at least one orchestra teacher on the Navajo reservation, firm in her motivational technique of challenges for first chair, is also firm in her belief that Indian students are either too lazy to try or don't like music. The choice of a language for controls and directions is also important in a bilingual program, with English often perceived by students as milder than their home language; at the same time, students from other backgrounds interpret the normal classroom projection level of English as a signal of anger, even when none is intended.

Bilingual teacher education programs should teach, or teach teachers how to find out, how the behavior of children of different groups is traditionally controlled, to what extent, and in what domains. Observational skills should be added for finding out what student reactions to various kinds of management techniques are, but that in itself is not sufficient. We need to know why.

In conclusion, I would like to return to a question I posed earlier in this presentation: to what extent can we teach cultural requirements in bilingual teacher education? And I would like to raise yet another question: what should be the nature and function of the cultural component of bilingual teacher education?

While cultural awareness and sensitivity are very important in teachers, they are not enough. Teachers require knowledge about culture--about that of the larger society and that of their students--to select relevant instructional material, to utilize appropriate classroom procedures, and to maximize students' opportunities to develop to their full potentials. Teachers require skills in cross-cultural interaction, in observation, in collecting cultural information from students and parents, in creating and adapting culturally-relevant materials. All of this we can and should teach. And we can heighten

and guide the underlying cultural awareness and sensitivity that a teacher or teacher candidate brings to our program. But I believe that the underlying personal characteristic of awareness and sensitivity must be a necessary prerequisite for our training.

If a person is crassly ethnocentric, is basically intolerant of cultural diversity in children, then I believe the function of the teacher education program is properly a screening one, to withold its approval and credentials, to prevent that person from teaching in a bilingual program. In those unfortunate cases where such a person is already a teacher, with the security of tenure, the task would seem to be two-fold:

1. To keep him or her out of the bilingual program, which is an important reason for having additional requirements for Bilingual Education.

2. To guide that teacher into teaching upper grades, where students are less impressionable and less vulnerable.

The question has been raised from time to time as to how bilingual education differs from monolingual education, apart from the obvious difference of the use of two languages. The same question may be asked of bilingual teacher training as well. Again, apart from language-specific aspects such as initial reading methods, there is little of particular difference except in the cultural component. It is interesting to contemplate that this one component may ultimately have the greatest impact of any portion of the bilingual teacher education program on the success of bilingual programs in the schools. And beyond that, it can offer a model for other areas of teacher training outside Bilingual Education. Properly done, it can become the most significant contribution of Bilingual Education to American education generally. Poorly done, it will be of little value, and Bilingual Education programs will suffer accordingly. Bilingual Education is inherently bicultural and cross-cultural, and its ultimate success or failure may rest to a great degree on how well the cultural component in teacher training is taught.

NOTES

[1]The CAL conference participants were George Blanco, Ruth Bradley, Gustavo Gonzalez, Rosa Inclan, Richard Light, Albar Pena, Carmen Perez, John Peterson, Anita Pfeiffer, John Romo, Staton Tong, Rudolph C. Troike, and Sylvia Viera. The publication which lists these guidelines for the preparation and certification of teachers may be ordered from the Center for Applied Linguistics, 1611 North Kent St., Arlington, VA 22209.

[2]The Civil Rights Commission Report on Teachers and Students (March, 1973) is frequently cited as showing less teacher praise and acceptance of Mexican American students than of Anglo students in the more than four hundred classrooms that were observed. Less often cited is the additional finding in this same study that Mexican American teachers were relatively even more negative toward the Mexican American students than were Anglo teachers.

[3]The following discussion has been adapted from my paper "On Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Education", to appear in Language Development in a Bilingual Setting, ed. by Eugene J. Briere (Pomona, CA: Multilingual Multicultural Materials Development Center).

[4]For an excellent discussion of this process, see Roger D. Abrahams, "Stereotyping and Beyond", in Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education, ed. by R.D. Abrahams and R.C. Troike (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), pp. 19-29.

[5]Alfred J. Kraemer, Workshop in Intercultural Communication: Handbook for Instructors (Alexandria, VA: Human Resources Research Organization, June 1974).

CAL Guidelines for the Preparation and Certification of Teachers of Bilingual/Bicultural Education (1974)
Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics

	Components of Teacher Training Programs					
	I	II	III A (L1) Language	III B (L2)	IV Classroom Practices	V Assessment
	General	Culture				
PERSONAL QUALITIES						
The teacher of bilingual-bicultural education should have the following qualifications:						
1. A thorough knowledge of the philosophy and theory concerning bilingual-bicultural education and its application.	x					
2. A genuine and sincere interest in the education of children regardless of their linguistic and cultural background, and personal qualities which contribute to success as a classroom teacher.	x					
3. A thorough knowledge of and proficiency in the child's home language and the ability to teach content through it; an understanding of the nature of the language the child brings with him and the ability to utilize it as a positive tool in his teaching.			x		x	
4. Cultural awareness and sensitivity and a thorough knowledge of the cultures reflected in the two languages involved.		x				
5. The proper professional and academic preparation obtained from a well-designed teacher training program in bilingual-bicultural education.	x	x	x	x	x	x
LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY						
The teacher should demonstrate the ability to:						
1. Communicate effectively, both in speaking and understanding, in the languages and within the cultures of both the home and school. The ability will include adequate control of pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, and regional, stylistic, and nonverbal variants appropriate to the communication context.			x	x		
2. Carry out instruction in all areas of the curriculum using a standard variety of both languages.			x	x	x	
LINGUISTICS						
The teacher should demonstrate the ability to:						
1. Recognize and accept the language variety of the home and a standard variety as valid systems of communication, each with its own legitimate functions.			x	x		
2. Understand basic concepts regarding the nature of language.			x	x		
3. Understand the nature of bilingualism and the process of becoming bilingual.			x	x		
4. Understand basic concepts regarding the natural effects of contacts between languages and the implications of this information for the instructional program.			x	x	x	

ATTACHMENT

147

185

	I	II	III A	III B	IV	V
5. Identify and understand regional, social, and developmental varieties in the child's language(s) at the phonological, grammatical, and lexical levels.			x	x		
6. Identify and understand structural differences between the child's first and second languages, recognizing areas of potential interference and positive transfer.			x	x		
7. Develop curricular activities to deal with areas of interference.			x	x	x	
8. Understand theories of first and second language learning, differences between child and adult language learning, and their implications for the classroom.			x	x	x	
CULTURE						
The teacher should demonstrate the ability to:						
1. Respond positively to the diversity of behavior involved in cross-cultural environments.		x				
2. Develop awareness in the learner of the value of cultural diversity.		x				
3. Prepare and assist children to interact successfully in a cross-cultural setting.		x	x	x		
4. Recognize and accept different patterns of child development within and between cultures in order to formulate realistic objectives.		x				
5. Assist children to maintain and extend identification with and pride in the mother culture.		x				
6. Understand, appreciate and incorporate into activities, materials and other aspects of the instructional environment: a. The culture and history of the group's ancestry. b. Contributions of group to history and culture of the United States. c. Contemporary life style(s) of the group.		x			x	
7. Recognize both the similarities and differences between Anglo-American and other cultures and both the potential conflicts and opportunities they may create for children.		x				
8. Know the effects of cultural and socio-economic variables on the student's learning styles (cognitive and affective) and on the student's general level of development and socialization.		x			x	
9. Use current research regarding the education of children in the U.S. from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.		x				
10. Understand the effects of socio-economic and cultural factors on the learner and the educational program.		x				
11. Recognize differences in social structure, including familial organizations and patterns of authority, and their significance for the program.		x				

	I	II	III A	III B	IV	V
INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS						
The teacher is expected to demonstrate the following competencies:						
1. Assist children to maintain and extend command of the mother tongue and the second language in listening, speaking, reading, and writing.			x	x	x	
2. Apply teaching strategies appropriate to distinct learning modes and developmental levels, including preschool, taking into consideration how differences in culture affect these and other learning variables.		x			x	
3. Organize, plan, and teach specific lessons in the required curriculum areas, using the appropriate terminology in the learner's language(s) and observing the local district curriculum guidelines. Basic elements and methodologies best suited to the teaching of reading and language arts, mathematics, social studies, and science, as a minimum, must be identified and applied in the learner's language(s).			x	x	x	
4. Utilize innovative techniques effectively and appropriately in the learner's language(s) in the various content areas, namely:		x	x	x	x	x
a. Formulation of realistic performance objectives and their assessment.						
b. Inquiry/discovery strategies.						
c. Individualized instruction.						
d. Learning centers.						
e. Uses of media and audio-visual materials.						
f. Systems approaches to the teaching of reading and mathematic skills.						
g. Team teaching and cross grouping.						
h. Interaction analysis.						
5. Develop an awareness of the way in which learner's culture should permeate significant areas of the curriculum.		x			x	
6. Utilize first and/or second-language techniques in accordance with the learner's needs at various stages of the learning process.			x	x	x	
7. Utilize effective classroom management techniques, for optimal learning in specific situations.		x			x	
8. Work effectively with paraprofessionals, and other adults.	x				x	
9. Identify and utilize available community resources in and outside the classroom.		x			x	
CURRICULUM UTILIZATION AND ADAPTATION						
The teacher should demonstrate the ability to:						
1. Identify current biases and deficiencies in existing curriculum and in both commercial and teacher-prepared materials of instruction. Materials should be evaluated in accordance with the following criteria:		x	x	x	x	
a. Suitability to student's language proficiencies and cultural experiences.						
b. Provision and respect for linguistic and cultural diversity.						
c. Objectives, scope, and sequence of the materials in terms of content areas.						
d. Student's reaction to materials.						
2. Acquire, evaluate, adapt, and develop materials appropriate to the bilingual-bicultural classroom.	x	x	x	x	x	x

	I	II	III A	III B	IV	V
ASSESSMENT						
General						
The teacher should demonstrate the ability to:						
1. Recognize potential linguistic and cultural biases of existing assessment instruments and procedures when prescribing a program for the learner.		x	x	x	x	x
2. Utilize continuous assessment as part of the learning process.					x	x
3. Interpret diagnostic data for the purpose of prescribing instructional programs for the individual.					x	x
4. Use assessment data as basis for program planning and implementation.	x				x	x
Language						
The teacher should demonstrate the ability to:						
1. Determine language dominance of the learner in various domains of language use--oral and written.			x	x	x	x
2. Use assessment results to determine teaching strategies for each learner.		x	x	x	x	x
3. Identify areas of proficiency (oral and written): vocabulary, syntax, phonology) in the learner's first and second language.			x	x		x
4. Assess maintenance and extension levels of the learner's language(s).			x	x		x
Content						
The teacher should demonstrate the ability to:						
1. Evaluate growth using teacher-prepared as well as standard instruments, in cognitive skills and knowledge of content areas utilizing the language of the home.			x		x	x
2. Assess accuracy and relevance of materials utilized in the classroom.		x	x	x	x	x
3. Prepare tests to evaluate achievement of proposed objectives of instruction.	x				x	x
Self						
The teacher should demonstrate the ability to identify and apply procedures for the assessment of:						
1. Own strengths and weaknesses as a bilingual teacher.		x	x	x	x	x
2. Own value system as it relates to the learner, his behavior, and his background.			x			x
3. The effectiveness of own teaching strategies.		x			x	x
SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONS						
The teacher should demonstrate the following competencies:						
1. Develop basic awareness concerning the importance of parental and community involvement for facilitating the learner's successful integration to the school environment.	x	x				
2. Acquire skills to facilitate basic contacts and interaction between the learner's family and school personnel.		x	x			
3. Demonstrate leadership in establishing home/community exchange of socio-cultural information which can enrich the learner's instructional activities.		x	x		x	

	I	II	III A	III B	IV	V
4. Acquire and develop skills in collecting culturally relevant information and materials characteristic of both the historical and current life-styles of the learner's culture(s) that can serve both for curriculum contents and for instructional activities.		x	x	x	x	
5. Acquire a knowledge of the patterns of child rearing represented in the families of the learners so as to better understand the background of the learners' behaviors in the classroom.		x			x	
6. To act as facilitator for enhancing the parents' roles, functions and responsibilities in the school and community.	x	x			x	
7. Serve as a facilitator for the exchange of information and views concerning the rationale, goals, and procedures for the instructional programs of the school.	x	x	x		x	
8. To plan for and provide the direct participation of the learner's family in the regular instructional programs and activities.		x			x	
SUPERVISED TEACHING Because of the great disparity between theory presented in the context of a college environment and practical teaching realities in a bilingual-bicultural classroom setting, it is essential that a portion of every teacher's training experience include on-site supervised teaching experience in a bilingual-bicultural program. To the extent possible, relevant competencies should be demonstrated in the direct context of such a classroom setting.		x	x	x	x	x

"PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING BILINGUAL POSTSECONDARY PROGRAMS"

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This paper focuses on: (1) how to plan for successful bilingual programs and (2) how to improve current programs. "Success," for our purposes here, may be defined in terms of the percentages of our students who persist and attain their particular educational goals. Most students who need bilingual higher education seek it in the open admissions setting. But for this group of students more than for any other, the "open door" policy has become a "revolving door." Although less than seven percent of the limited-English proficiency population of college age even attempt to get a higher education, the attrition rate of this small group is over sixty percent. This means that we have to examine the factors that contribute to this condition in order to make necessary changes if our students are to persist in completing their educational goals. Persistence, after all, is the most critical ingredient in students' successful completion of their educational goals.

Why do some students persist while others drop out? What can be done to help students persist? What do successful programs - i.e., programs wherein students do persist - have in common? Some compelling findings related to these questions are contained in a study done by John Roueche and Jerry Snow. These researchers analyzed three hundred developmental programs across the country to determine which were more successful and why they were so. Their findings, published in Overcoming Learning Problems (Jossey-Baas Publishers, San Francisco, 1977) reveal eight areas with components which were common to successful programs. We will look at their study of these developmental programs for two reasons: first, to offer a bilingual higher education program in an open-admissions setting, without providing a developmental stage, is to invite failure; and second, the number of students who complete a college degree program is closely associated with the number who completed a developmental program.

We will also look at the Roueche/Snow findings in light of how we may utilize their valuable research in planning, implementing and/or improving the first and most critical stage of a postsecondary bilingual education program: the developmental stage.

THE DEVELOPMENTAL STAGE

Successful developmental programs have the following in common:

1. They provide a clear program philosophy and objectives, identifying cognitive and affective development as primary goals. They

utilize courses and services to develop a strong, positive student self-concept. Counselors, for example, are used for teaching affective development courses.

2. They use a variety of recruitment methods to appeal to the high-risk student and utilize a wide range of tests of cognitive skills along with an affective assessment of student self-image.

3. They provide multiple levels of entry into carefully ordered instructional sequences.

4. They have either a departmental/divisional unit or specialized courses within existing academic departments, with an administrative leader to plan, coordinate and allocate funds for instruction. This structure enables the implementing of systematic needs assessments and the promoting of central thrusts such as self-concept development. It allows for internally structuring team assignments and evaluating the results of program efforts. It also facilitates implementing innovative instructional and counseling strategies for specific groups.

5. They use full-time developmental specialists who have the desire and the training to work with "high risk" students, so-labeled because of their academic skills deficiencies. Their training, knowledge and experience should include developmental, remedial and affective techniques.

6. They have curricula which (a) provides credit, since offering credit strongly affects retention, and (b) utilize a systems approach to learning incorporating the basic concepts of Mastery Learning through either individualized, self-paced or personalized instruction. Continued successes experienced by students in systems approaches improve their self-concept as well as their grades and thereby affect retention. Research and experience have demonstrated an inextricable connection between academic achievement and a strong self-concept. In a systems approach, time is a variable while achievement is kept constant. Mastery Learning builds on success one step at a time. In particular courses, the primary predictor of students' level of achievement is the students' initial expectations of the grades they will receive. But developing an expectation to succeed is best facilitated by experiencing success. Systems approaches cultivate this expectation. (Mastery Learning is discussed in greater depth further on.)

7. They have the support services of Learning Assistance Centers (Labs) and peer tutoring, both with strong ties to academic departments and the student services area.

8. They have a thorough evaluation process including the following:

   (a) Student evaluations based on their particular educational goals (degree/certification/specific skill(s)/course(s)/enrichment/job training).

   (b) Pre- and post-testing of cognitive skills.

   (c) Student attitudinal data/self-assessment or self-concept instruments.

   (d) Student evaluations of teachers, administrators, counselors and tutors.

Thus it seems that in the bilingual program's developmental stage what we teach is only as effective as how and by whom it is taught. Let's look first at what we should teach, for example, in a Spanish/English bilingual developmental program. After a placement battery, students should be placed at appropriate levels of entry into ESL, Spanish language arts (reading and writing) and math and an affective course (that includes orientation) in either human potential, achievement motivation or a similar area. The curriculum would look something like this:

ESL	(Native) Spanish Language Arts	Math	Affective
ESL I (6 hrs. week)	Spanish Reading and Writing (levels 3 to 7)(3 hrs.)	Arithmetic (3 hrs.)	Human Potential (3 hrs.)
Intermediate ESL (6 hrs. week)	Spanish Reading and Writing (levels 7 to 10)(3 hrs.)	Geometry/ Algebra (3 hrs.)	Achievement Motivation (3 hrs.)
Advanced ESL (6 hrs. week)			Orientation (5 hrs./ semester)

Language arts instruction should integrate both cultural components, and should stress those language skills a student will need most to complete his/her educational goals. These skills may differ from student to student, but we should address each student's individual needs.

In general, native language writing skills should include the following: spelling, accentuation, punctuation, syntax, and paragraph and composition skills. This should be presented with carefully planned, systematic vocabulary development as well. Native language

reading skills development should include the following skills: identifying the main idea and supporting details; finding enumerated material; finding definitions, hidden meaning, context clues; identifying propaganda, persuasion and argumentation; synthesizing, drawing conclusions and making comparisons. In reading skills development, comprehension and vocabulary skills should be developed through practice with sequentially graded reading materials with high-interest, useful contexts. Graded reading materials should be stimulating and varied. Study skills such as textbook reading, outlining, listening and note-taking, time control, memory training, using the library, understanding word parts and test-taking should be developed in these courses as well.

In ESL, students should master high-frequency grammar and vocabulary through work in listening, speaking, reading and writing the language. Briefly, this component should address: (a) developing approximately three times the vocabulary found in virtually any commercially-published six-book ESL series and (b) strengthening competency in high-frequency items such as the past tense and the use of articles and prepositions.

In math, students should develop skills in arithmetic, plane geometry and basic algebra. They should also develop knowledge of the language of mathematics and understand the utilitarian motives for learning mathematics.

In the affective domain, the program should provide orientation to college, self-assessment, study management, overcoming anxiety and mild depression, dealing with interpersonal problems, assertiveness, career decision-making, etc.

Not mentioned thus far, but also highly useful to the student is a developmental speech course to prepare students to respond and express themselves in class.

As to <u>who</u> should teach developmental courses, the program should hire people who are skilled not only in academic areas but in developmental education as well. Their training and experience should include the use of systems approaches and alternative teaching techniques. They should have the motivation and ability to work with developmental students, sensitivity to students' needs and problems, and strong dedication to the development of students' self-concepts. There should also be a reasonable student-teacher ratio: 15 to 1 is adequate for this type of instruction. Accordingly, the program should be staffed by at least 80% full-time faculty.

As for <u>how</u> the program should teach, it is important to focus on students' cognitive and affective development. The system of Personalized Instruction, based on the concepts of Mastery Learning (self-pacing, unit perfection requirement, in-class proctors) seems to promote student success and its by-product - a positive self-concept. As such, it is important to understand the basis of this approach.

About 90% of all people, including bilinguals, have the aptitude to achieve mastery in most courses. Benjamin Bloom, in his article "Learning for Mastery," states that people of high levels of aptitude constitute about 5% of the population and, at the other end of the scale, about 5% have learning problems or disabilities. "In between are approximately 90 percent of the individuals where we believe that aptitudes are predictive of rate of learning rather than the level (or complexity) of learning that is possible. Thus, . . . given sufficient time (and appropriate types of help), 95 percent of students can learn a subject up to a high level of mastery." The time spent on learning is the key to mastery. According to Dr. Bloom, "aptitude determines the rate of learning and most, if not all, students can achieve mastery if they devote the amount of time needed to the learning . . . implying that the student must not only devote the amount of time he needs to the learning task but also that he be allowed enough time for the learning to take place. . . . The time a student needs to learn the subject is likely to be affected by the student's aptitudes, his verbal ability, the quality of instruction he receives in class, and the quality of the help he receives in and out of class." Personalized Systematic Instruction is an approach which applies these concepts to the process of learning.

Bloom further promotes the desirability of utilizing Mastery Learning for its affective consequences. "We have for the past century conceived of mastery of a subject as being possible for only a minority of students. With this assumption we have adjusted our grading system so as to certify that only a small percent of students are awarded a grade of A. If a group of students learns a subject in a superior way we still persist in awarding the A (or mastery) to only the top 10 or 15 percent of the students. We grudgingly recognize that the majority of students have "gotten by" by awarding them grades of C or D. Mastery and recognition of mastery under the present relative grading system is unattainable for the majority of students - but this is the result of the way in which we have "rigged" the educational system. Mastery must be both a subjective recognition by the student of his competence and a public recognition by the school or society. The public recognition must be in the form of appropriate certification by the teacher or by the school. No matter how much the student has learned, if public recognition is denied him, he must come to believe that he is inadequate, rather than the system of grading or instruction. Subjectively the student must gain feelings of control over ideas and skills. He must come to recognize that he "knows" and can do what the subject requires."

"If the system of formative evaluation (diagnostic-progress tests) and the summative evaluation (achievement examinations) inform the student of his mastery of the subject, he will come to believe in his own mastery and competence. He may be informed by the grading system as well as by the discovery that he can adequately cope with the variety of tasks and problems in the evaluation instruments.

When a student has mastered a subject and when he receives both objective and subjective evidence of the mastery, there are profound changes in his view of himself and of the outer world. Perhaps the clearest evidence of affective change is the interest the student develops for the subject he has mastered. He begins to "like" the subject and to desire more of it. To do well in a subject opens up further avenues for exploration of the subject. Conversely, to do poorly in a subject closes an area for further study. The student desires some control over his environment, and mastery of a subject gives him some feeling of control over a part of his environment. Interest in a subject is both a cause of mastery of the subject as well as a result of mastery. Motivation for further learning is one of the more important consequences of mastery."

"At a deeper level is the student's self-concept. Each person searches for positive recognition of his worth and he comes to view himself as adequate in those areas where he receives assurance of his competence or success. For a student to view himself in a positive way, he must be given many opportunities to be rewarded. Mastery and its public recognition provide the necessary reassurance and reinforcement to help the student view himself as adequate. It is the opinion of the writer that one of the more positive aids to mental health is frequent and objective indications of self-development. Mastery Learning can be one of the more powerful sources of mental health. We are convinced that many of the neurotic symptoms displayed by high school and college students are exacerbated by painful and frustrating experiences in school learning. If 95 percent of the students are given positive indications of adequacy in learning, one might expect such students to need less and less in the way of emotional therapy and psychological help. Contrariwise, frequent indications of failure and learning inadequacy must be accompanied by increased self-doubt on the part of the student and the search for reassurance and adequacy outside the school."

"Finally, modern society requires continual learning throughout life. If the schools do not promote adequate learning and reassurance of progress, the student must come to reject learning - both in the school and later in life. Mastery Learning can give zest to school learning and can develop a lifelong interest in learning. It is this continual learning which should be the major goal of the educational system." (pp. 47-48)

In deciding <u>how</u> to teach, it is important to use the best techniques and technological aids possible. For example, it was found that almost 90% of all people are primarily visual learners, yet the lecture approach continues to be the principal source of critical information. Another useful technique is suggestology or suggestopedia. Students can learn up to ten times as much as they usually do in a class session using this technique. Other audio-visual media like the video disc, also promote learning. Methods such as roleplay, Language Experience, Freire's method, and Gattegno's solutions should be explored.

Ideally the program should have a developmental team - a group of teachers, counselors, administrators, tutors and lab personnel to work on a regular basis on program issues.

At least 80% of the staff in the program should work on a full time basis. There could never be an elementary or secondary school staffed mostly by part-time personnel. It would be disastrous because their curricula is basically developmental and sequential. Again, in not providing sufficient full-time personnel, we are programming our students for failure.

So far the developmental stage of bilingual postsecondary education programs has been emphasized for the reasons previously stated. But the above suggestions have implications for the degree-requirement stage of bilingual programs.

Although there are degree programs in the fields of ESL and bilingual teacher training, career programs using a bilingual approach have been largely ignored. We must offer vocational and technical bilingual programs as well. The medical, legal, business and technological fields need bilingual personnel. Bilingualism is a valuable asset, not a liability.

In formulating goals for bilingual postsecondary programs, we should not view the programs as remedial or corrective measures, meant to eliminate one language and culture and replace it with another. One of our purposes is to strive to develop academic and linguistic skills to a college-level stage of preparedness. Then these skills should be made even more marketable through the added education and training received through a bilingual degree or career program.

An effective way to plan (or re-plan) for a successful bilingual program has been outlined by Henry Lehman in his article "The Systems Approach to Education." (Audiovisual Instruction, 13, Feb. '68). As developed by Project Aristotle, the systems approach to education consists of eight steps:

(1) Need - an education/training problem
(2) Objectives - measurable learning goals
(3) Constraints - restrictions/limitations
(4) Alternatives - candidate solutions
(5) Selection - choice of the best alternatives
(6) Implementation - pilot operation of the chosen solution
(7) Evaluation - measurement of results obtained against originally stated objectives
(8) Modification - change of the system to correct deficiencies

Briefly, this list can be restated as: (1) define the real problem you are trying to solve; (2) examine many potential solutions and select one

which promises to be successful; (3) measure results obtained and modify the approach for greater effectiveness.

Finally, in closing let me add that by the year 2,000, one in four Americans will be speakers of Spanish; another 12 percent will be speakers of languages other than English. The International situation presents a compelling argument for the further development of these linguistic and cultural resources. Without doubt it is our responsibility to plan and implement bilingual programs that will respond to the needs of individuals in an increasingly complex socio-political environment. We cannot afford to let the challenge go unmet.

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